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ABSTRACT

A study reviewed nonformal education provided by community organizations, particularly that for women, in the Western Cape (South Africa). It was set against a background of the struggle against apartheid and women's special needs and interests. The interview schedule included open-ended and structured questions and was designed to elicit details on the structure of organizations, the training they provided, the problems faced by the interviewees and recommendations for the future. Findings indicated that organizations varied in size, number of people reached, and number of paid or volunteer workers. Aims of the organizations were broad and of a general nature. The multifaceted nature of the goals of many organizations could prove inefficient in the long-run. Funding was one of the most crucial problems. The organizations did not address issues of sexism and racism within themselves. Survival strategies training included primary health care directed almost exclusively at women and life skills training directed toward men and women alike. Training for income-generating work appeared to be most successful with women. Training for unemployed workers tended to be geared toward men. Although women had been included in political training, issues relevant to their subordination had not been addressed. The effectiveness of trainer training carried out by women who had learned to train through experience and expediency had not been assessed. (Appendixes contain a list of organizations surveyed and the interview schedule. Contains 55 references.) (YLB)

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ADULT EDUCATION AND WOMEN'S NEEDS

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BY ANNMARIE WOLPE

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A STUDY OF SOME COMMUNITY
ORGANISATIONS IN THE WESTERN CAPE

ADULT EDUCATION AND WOMEN'S NEEDS

BY ANNMARIE WOLPE

**A STUDY OF SOME COMMUNITY
ORGANISATIONS IN THE WESTERN CAPE**

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PREFACE

The Community Organisation Research and Education (CORE) Project of CACE, was established in 1985 in order to survey and analyse developments within community organisations in the greater Cape Town area. This series of CORE WORKING PAPERS forms part of the project. Over the last seven years, the project has undertaken systematic collection and storage of data on community organisations, participatory research into specific aspects of policies and practices, and the dissemination of findings through popular texts, academic papers, and conferences for academics and activists.

The CORE WORKING PAPERS aim to contribute to the ongoing debates and understandings of the present and future policies and practices of community organisations in South Africa.

The CORE Project is part of the work being done by the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have contributed to this final report, not least the trainers who gave generously of their time, and I would like to thank them.

I am grateful to members of CACE, particularly Professor Shirley Walters, and Joe Samuels, Lehn Benjamin and Jonathan Geidt, who all commented critically on the first draft; and Debbie Budlender.

The study was initiated in the first instance by Professor Shirley Walters of CACE. The empirical work was planned by myself and Mikki van Zyl, who conducted all the interviews and coded the data.

The views expressed in the report do not necessarily reflect those of CACE as an organisation, and I take sole responsibility for the final writing of this document.

Financial assistance towards the research has come from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada, and this is acknowledged with appreciation.

Dr AnnMarie Wolpe,
Senior Research Officer

CACE
1994

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BACKGROUND TO AND RATIONALE FOR THE RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

Community organisations (COs)₁ provide a wide range of activities which include non formal education (NFE) in the field of adult education (AE). The techniques, structure and mode of training in NFE differs markedly from that of the formal educational sector. NFE provision is largely for the underprivileged and often forgotten members of society. In countries where there are no or limited social security provisions and restricted educational facilities, the role of COs can be very important. And this is the case in South Africa, where COs have played a meaningful part – not least in the struggle against apartheid. In a changing climate, with the move towards creating a democratic South Africa, the funding of many of these organisations may dry up, and with that, valuable contributions to training through non formal means may come to an end. However, little is known of the overall work of COs, and even less of how their efforts are directed towards those who endure the harshest social conditions in our society, viz. women.

This study is concerned with a review of NFE provision, particularly that for women, in the Western Cape. To this end, an empirical investigation was conducted among the trainers of a small sample of COs in 1992, to provide a profile of some of these provisions. Given the contradictions that characterize South Africa, and the confusion generated by apparently rapidly changing social conditions, these details are important more so as there is a danger that the invaluable work of COs may be relegated to a low level of priority, given the scramble for the development of the formal educational sector. And this notwithstanding one of the goals set out in the Tripartite Alliance's Reconstruction and Development Programme (Fourth Draft, 1993), which reads:

5.5. People will be given opportunities to learn through their lives, not just when they are young so that they can get more skills to keep up with changes in society and technologies. It is hoped, furthermore, that the data that is generated may make a contribution to policy on NFE provision in the future.

WHAT IS ADULT EDUCATION?

Adult education (AE) is a term which appears to evade adequate definition. An experienced adult educationist, Youngman (1992) says it is "a chameleon term that changes in varying contexts". There is no doubt, however, that it enables adults to pursue a range of non formal learning which they would not otherwise receive through the existing formal educational system. Youngman says that:

In many ways, therefore, the term adult education is an analytical construct that gives intellectual coherence at the level of deep structure to a range of activities which appear on the surface to be unconnected and which are perceived by their practitioners as unrelated. (1992, p.6)

The multifaceted nature of AE provision is a feature of its work. Adult educationists themselves come from a range of backgrounds, often derived from practical experience in the field itself. From their expertise the notion has been generated and is held by many of them that they are radical educators, whose efforts may advance change in socio-economic conditions, a point which will be considered in a little detail below. This has led to the belief and claims, as Aitcheson put it at a conference of University-based Adult Educators in

1987, that many adult educationists in non formal education moved into AE in the 1970s and 1980s because they:

did believe that they were going to train 'leaders' and 'managers' of an alternative education movement/system that would have high impact on adult masses. (1991, p. 410)

Youngman is sceptical of the effectiveness of AE to this end, and, in quoting Griffin (1991), suggests there is a political naïvety on the part of many adult educationists, who fail to recognise that the reverse process may follow their efforts. Adult educationists may, on the contrary:

contribute to the processes of capital accumulation and the legitimization of the social order. (Youngman, 1992, p. 6.)

His point is that the facilities and training that are provided may reinforce the status quo. He does not elaborate this point but there are several aspects to which attention may be drawn. The first is that focusing on the individual is embedded in liberal democratic ideologies, and this in turn privileges individualism which has the consequence of defusing group action, a point which is expanded on below when discussing the work of Freire. Then there are the consequences of AE as a student-centred activity. Keddie (1980) drew attention to this and said that in concentrating on students' needs AE was (similar to primary school education which is pupil-oriented):

adapt[ing] to dominant educational and cultural structures, but does not question the modes by which education controls differential access to knowledge and power. (1980, p. 470)

What this discussion does highlight is that adult educationists are subjected to an ideology – the practice of which may not be as effective as hoped for, and of which they themselves may be unaware. Furthermore, their practice is derived from the belief that what they do "empowers" people and "conscientizes" them in the manner described by Freire.

Perhaps there is a desire to attach to AE a coherence that is nonetheless lacking. What is not necessarily recognised is that adult education is engaged

in work which reflects the many contradictions that exist and operate within a capitalist economy. Further, the organisations which provide these services may or may not be fully aware of these contradictions, although they, the adult educators, may be bound by some common ideologies relating to the work they do.

COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID

AE provision in South Africa has a mixed history. A Workers' Education Association was in existence in the earlier part of the 20th century, and a range of organisations, such as the National Council of Women, Rotarians, church organisations, trade unions and so on, also provided forms of AE for the White population. From 1939 onwards, the State's concern over the number of White school leavers without Standard VIII certificates resulted in the provision of compensatory and other measures. This became the responsibility of the Department of Cultural Affairs in 1968, and the following year an Act (The National Culture Promotion Act, No. 27 of 1969) came into operation, with its main purpose:

to provide for the preservation, development, fostering and extension of the culture of the White population of the Republic by the planning, organization, co-ordination and provision of facilities for the utilization of leisure, and informal out-of-school education. (Quoted by Behr and Macmillan, 1971, p. 339)

This set in motion affirmative action in AE policy directed towards the White population, and the Afrikaans speaking group in particular, with an emphasis on "high culture". The majority of the population for whom extremely limited resources were made available were virtually excluded.

The consequence of the apartheid system, through its educational policies, has perpetuated a high rate of illiteracy among the majority of the population, and maintained a low level of skill among the majority of the work force. It was the COs who consistently tackled these educational deficits, however minimally, over the years. Their efforts, unfortunately, were met by hostile State opposition from the mid-1960s onwards and COs were put under great strain.

In spite of their policies, the State was forced to begin to address the anomalies of the system and the problems of meeting the demand by industry and commerce for an educated and skilled work force. The State recognised the potential of NFE as a means of beginning to tackle the consequences of its own short-sighted policies. A Government report of 1981, **Provision of Education in the RSA**, known as the De Lange Report, while not acknowledging the fact that institutionalised racism was the main cause for the majority of the population being denied education, proposed a compensatory non formal form of AE and training at low cost, which could begin to address these deficits. Such a system would be cheaper than the formal educational one and could be effected by private enterprise. The State transferred responsibility for this to private enterprise, which responded with some sectors introducing a number of training schemes, most of which are concerned with literacy either of a general nature or directed towards the needs of the enterprise in the work place. (NEPI, AE, 1993) Meanwhile the State has provided some form of AE through its own agencies, such as the prison system and the army; but this has not addressed the massive lacunae generated by the apartheid system. Overall then, it is true to say that the State has no coherent AE policy for the majority of the population, and has largely ignored the potential contribution that COs have made and can continue to make.

In the face of the State's direct opposition, adult educationists continued to provide some form of NFE which was directed to the largely dispossessed, disenfranchised, uneducated population, often living under appalling social conditions. Indeed Walters (1989) attributed the rapid proliferation of COs in the 1970s and 1980s to social upheaval and political struggle.

Much of their work was carried out under threat of state repressive measures. The difficulties under which people in this sector worked, particularly at the height of repression during the 1980s, is reflected in the following:

... The State has embarked on massively infiltrating the democratic movement, and setting up right wing organisations in an attempt to counter the influence of the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement], as well as setting up surrogate forces, vigilante groups and the special constables.

The restrictions on organisations and the detention or elimination of leadership has meant that national structures of democratic organisations have largely been broken, and in many cases, even regional structures have found it difficult to continue operating ...

Despite all this, organisations in many sectors have managed to continue operating and have consolidated and strengthened their work. (Kell and Patel, 1988, p. 9)

During the late 1980s, the political climate began to change due to the breakdown of control by the State and the deteriorating economic conditions. A conference titled **Facing the Challenges of the 1990s**, in 1989, was hosted jointly by the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) and the Centre for Development Studies, with 250 representatives from 90 organisations in the Western Cape. This was one of the first public gatherings of people involved in COs in which issues relating to the "transfer of political power" and, as Trevor Manuel, a leading activist at the time said, "the need to set out realistic objectives for ourselves and for our interaction with the masses in respect to health, housing and economic issues" were being addressed. At the same conference, another well known activist, Graeme Bloch, pointed to the "fragmentary and inconclusive" basic data that was available. He spoke of the "highly dynamic and rapidly changing" nature of the Western Cape and the challenges that would emerge through demographic changes and the anticipated massive influx of people from rural areas into the Western Cape over the next decade. (CACE, 1989)

This reflected the view of many of the organisations which had been heavily engaged in fighting apartheid in whatever way they could up to 1990 and generated consensus among them. A need began to emerge for a review of their provisions in the light of the lifting of repressive state measures, and the legitimisation of oppositional politics, particularly that of the African National Congress (ANC). But exactly what form this would or indeed will take had and still has not been established, although individual agencies are engaged in such considerations.

The work of the COs was and is still largely unco-ordinated, but has been united in the main in the struggle against State oppression. Even though there may have been consensus among many COs

as to this ultimate goal of bringing down the apartheid State, there are a number of differences between them. These are in relation to their provisions, their overall plans, particularly for the future, their definitions, concepts and ideologies used in their everyday practice in AE. This is not unique to South Africa as:

... within the same country are distinctly different practices of adult education, developed by different social actors, embodying ideological and political conceptions which are not only divergent but completely opposed and contradictory. (Picon, C. 1991, p.81)

These differences may be analysed theoretically in accordance with the type of model of development which could be applied including modernization, dependency and Marxist theories.² It is unlikely that the COs would identify themselves as falling within particular analytical categories, although many of those engaged in the field of AE would describe themselves, as Aitcheson has done, as imbued with an ideology located in that of a social movement, and one which probably would conform to a liberal democratic ideology. Class-based analyses are conspicuous by their absence and even more so now when it is no longer fashionable to use the term "class".

SOME SALIENT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NON FORMAL ADULT EDUCATION AND FORMAL EDUCATION

Most adult educationists differ from their colleagues in the formal sector in a number of ways, and are largely responsible for the development of what has become known as NFE. The term NFE gained ground during the 1970s as a response by development agencies, and the United Nations in particular, to the development work being conducted among Third World people.

Almost twenty years ago, Simkins' monograph (1977) set out the parameters of NFE, identifying how it differs from formal education.³ He described the aims, the timing, the content, the techniques, and forms of control as the benchmarks for this distinction. NFE has short-term goals, is highly specific, and not concerned with accreditation at the end of the study, whatever form it takes. NFE is part-

time, is recurrent, and its provision is short-term. Its content is task or skill centred, and focuses on the individual within a community setting. Its techniques are environment-based, flexible, learner-centred, and, above all, low cost. The control of NFE is seen to reside among the participants and hence is of a democratic nature.

Recently Fordham emphasised some of these points when he said that:

Internationally, non-formal education is often defined in terms of: relevance to the needs of the poor, flexibility in organization and methods, carefully targeted approaches and specificity in objective. (1993, p.4)

Provision for the poor in the Third World is referred to by La Belle and Verhine. NFE refers to "local-level programs for the adult poor, and draws attention to some of the issue surrounding its use among the oppressed of the Third World". (La Belle & Verhine, 1986, p. 397) Focusing on the needs of the poor appears to remove the goals of NFE from the realm of the political.

In addressing the needs of the poor, the causes for their poverty do not necessarily constitute the problem, but rather the effects. NFE may be seen, as Fordham has said, largely concerned with the consequences of poverty. Thus the needs of individuals may be the focus of attention, and not the social conditions in which they live, and as such conforms to one of the criteria of modernization theory which privileges individualism in the course of moving towards liberal democracy. Zacharakis-Jutz sees individualism as directly linked to the dominant power structure. He said:

Individualization, as Foucault (1982) and Lasch (1979) want, is a tool used by dominant culture to foster utopian visions, riches and glory, and personal freedom and power. Yet, in reality, focusing on the individual leaves most people in isolation and profoundly powerless relative to the state or dominant institutions. (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 43)

Freire, on the other hand, was concerned with both cause and effect and not with the needs of the individual *per se* or the individual's deficit. Overall social conditions and how to transform the repres-

sive nature of these among individuals constituted his problematic. Through the techniques which he devised he aimed to "conscientize" the poor. Conscientization is:

... the development in the learners of a critical understanding of society and an awareness of the capacity to *change society*. (Youngman, 1986, p. 155, my italics)

These views on conscientization have influenced successive generations of adult educationists and the term has become thoroughly embedded in the language of adult educationists.

Closely associated with the notion of conscientization is that of "empowerment" which Graham-Brown (1991) said was:

... to comprehend their political and economic position, confront their oppression and seek collectively to change. (p.71)

Empowering, like conscientization, is seen as people gaining knowledge of those forces responsible for their specific conditions, as though this knowledge provides the conditions for effecting change and for their acquisition of power.

Furthermore it should be pointed out that the terms conscientization and empowerment have become widely used and are not restricted to COs. International funders talk of empowering members of the community. And the term has been appropriated throughout the world even by the very groups against which so many COs pitted themselves. Governments and others whose goals do not correspond, and indeed may be diametrically opposed to those of adult educationists now use the same terminology.

The language, and, even to an extent the methodology of 'popular education' has also been used to legitimize political and social control, whether by governments or by external funding agencies which now look with great favour on projects couched in terms of 'empowerment'. (S. Graham-Brown, p.72, 1991)

Not only have Freire's concepts of conscientization and the associated one of empowerment been adopted widely, but so have the techniques he developed

in the literacy programmes he ran in Brazil prior to his exile. From this has developed the notion of popular education which involves a range of educational techniques primarily located within the community, constructed by the community and outside the sphere of influence or control of the State. Popular education is a practice which "begins with a process of community research, analysis, and action known as participatory investigation". (La Belle, p.109)

Freire as well as other adult educationists, developed a set of innovative educational techniques which have also been linked ideologically to what has become known as People's Education, and this no less in South Africa than in other countries, particularly Latin America.

It was Freire's concept of conscientization and that of empowerment which played a crucial role in the 1970s in South Africa. His ideas were circulated clandestinely and inspired the emerging Black Consciousness movement, the radical church groups and other workers, and subsequently fed into the community-based organisations in the 1980s.⁴

Similarly COs in South Africa have, like their counterparts throughout the world, talked, and still do, in terms of empowerment, and this ideology is firmly entrenched in the progressive COs in South Africa. **Struggle for Democracy** (1989) spoke of empowering as:

people gaining an understanding of and control over social economic and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society. An empowering process is the means to bring about such understanding and control. (Matiwana et al, 1989 p.20)

Within the repressive conditions up to 1990, the concept and practice of People's Education gained support and was employed by a range of organisations concerned with creating an alternate educational system. For example, ERIP (Education, Resource and Information Project) through the use of "wall charts, posters, audio and visual cassettes, briefings and obviously booklets, packages and slide shows" aimed to provide an alternate education. The strategies they employed were learned on the "shop floor" so to speak. Since then, they have imparted their knowledge to newcomers.

Their techniques are an example of NFE which still remains a highly experientially-based skill,

with an unprofessionalized set of practices, located in individual organisations. Attempts at professionalizing AE in practice is visible in the development of university-based courses for adult educators at several centres and departments of AE in some universities in the country.

However, when the terms conscientization, empowerment and popular education are subjected to critical assessment there are obvious flaws. Youngman (1986) censured academics and practitioners who adopted Freire's concepts wholesale. It was and is fashionable to do so, he said, and he accused adult educationists and others of becoming part of a "radical chic" group. He said Freire's ideas were appropriated uncritically, and no account was taken of the complexity of his theoretical propositions, or the political implications of his statements. Here Youngman was referring in particular to the notions of the transformation of society. What constitutes control, and hence the ability to effect significant change in social conditions responsible for all social malaises, involves more than consciousness raising and awareness of what generates the conditions of poverty and subordination. Work performed by COs does not provide the necessary conditions for social transformation.

Power relations are firmly located within the complex socio-economic system and backed up by a range of state and civil society apparatuses. These constraints are not necessarily recognised, nor addressed by the COs themselves or their clients, as already discussed above. The machinations and maintenance of state power is a highly complex process, and one not easily upset by small groups of people who gain knowledge individually about the conditions which are responsible for their poverty and relative deprivation.

In regard to the techniques employed, there are two different criticisms which have been levelled against NFE. Although these techniques are recognised as "systematic and sophisticated" (Youngman, 1986) they too have been criticised in relation to the role Freire said they would play in the transformation of social conditions. La Belle (1984) referred to the work of others which indicated that literacy programmes may have raised people's understandings of the social processes accounting for their conditions – that is conscientization – but there was no evidence that their social conditions had altered, a condition said to follow on from empowerment.

Van Niekerk (1992) in reviewing the work of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua after they gained power argued, correctly, that literacy campaigns cannot in themselves constitute sufficient conditions for effecting social transformation.

It is not clear to what extent the COs have actively researched the conditions, or whether they have responded to stated needs and desires by members of the community in accordance with the guidelines of popular education. It would seem, however, that the work carried out by so many of the COs would fall loosely under the heading of popular education.

There are other limitations to NFE. Practitioners do not necessarily have a systematic approach, their assessment of the need may not always be accurate, and their forms of assessment may be weak. However, NFE does fill real gaps and enables many people to acquire knowledge which they would otherwise never have. It may provide access to formal training or education. It may enable people to acquire skills which they can use in the various sectors of the labour market. And finally, it may well assist people to cope better with existing harsh life conditions.

WHY FOCUS ON NFE PROVISION BY COs FOR WOMEN?

It would be difficult to sustain an argument that any study that concentrates on provision for women is inappropriate at this point in time, when all Black people have been consistently disadvantaged. In the first place, it will be argued that given the overall subordination of women (which is apparent in the facts that have been well publicised by UNESCO), that failure to take cognisance of their specific needs will result in their continuing relegation to subordinate positions.

It has been calculated by international agencies, such as UNESCO, that women work considerably longer hours than men, largely because of their domestic responsibilities. It is estimated that in working hours they perform two-thirds of the world's work. They contribute significantly to the income of the family, and in many cases are the sole supporters – they head one-third of the world's households – and yet earn only one-tenth of the world's income. In spite of their long hours of work, they own only one-tenth of the world's property. In agriculture they are

thought to produce half the world's food. These are global figures. It is not yet possible to produce comparable figures for South Africa, but there is nothing to suggest that South Africa differs from other developing countries of the world.

These facts on women's poverty are only part of the problem. In ideological terms, the situation of women is represented as being "normal" and unquestionable. The ideological structures which are reflected in everyday practices are held by men and women alike. Both genders accept that this is the "natural" form and do not question women's subordination.

Throughout the history of South Africa, and more particularly during the course of struggle against the apartheid system, women have played an integral and crucial role in the opposition to various repressive state measures. Latterly, women have been part of the armed struggle in the underground movement, and have worked in organisations concerned with civil society. Their strength, courage and contribution is not in doubt, and several writers have chronicled their contribution (Horn, 1991; Walker, 1982).

Irrespective of their full participation, they do not enjoy equality with men either in the private domain of their homes, or in the public domain of civil society and the work place. What constitutes equality and equal rights has been debated extensively and there will be no attempt here to do more than acknowledge the complexity of this matter. Equal rights can be concretely incorporated in the statutes and common laws of a society. Yet there is a vast difference between establishing legal rights and ensuring that actual practices in different aspects of everyday life are equitable and are so for women of all classes and all ethnic membership. Legal provision by no means guarantees that inequities will be removed. The USA is a case in point.

Apart from legal definitions, inequalities are often of an intangible nature. They are reflected in a number of ideologies, which themselves provide the basis for the legitimisation of continuing unequal practices. For example, the ideology that women's place is in the home is invoked when legitimating lower pay for women.

Addressing questions of women's equality in South Africa was often met with open hostility for political reasons. In the past, such efforts were

labelled as inappropriate bourgeois Western feminism which has no place in South Africa. It was put very bluntly in 1989, by "Clara" from the underground in South Africa:

If we understand that the women question is at this point in time a subordinate, less antagonistic contradiction in South Africa, then we will draw correct conclusions about when and how to organise around women's experiences in the different stages of our revolution. It should be clear that the total emancipation of women is only realisable under a developed socialist economy, and only if, in each stage of our revolution, we organise women to participate fully and raise their demands as part of the people's demands. (Clara, 1989, p.40)

Women's concerns had, therefore, according to "Clara", to be postponed to a later date when a socialist economy had been achieved with equal rights for everyone. Feminism was not welcome.

While the creation of a socialist state may not be on many people's agenda in South Africa, the consideration of women's rights has surfaced in spite of the opposition to anything labelled as "feminist". Indeed, it has become part of everyday rhetoric on democratic rights. Even though "gender is on the agenda" in organisations like the ANC (McClintock, 1993) in concrete terms little has happened to redress this imbalance. A report in the *Cape Times* by the political staff quotes Ms T Mtintso, who said:

the ANC had decisively buried the issue of quotas after an attempt to impose a 30% quota was averted two years ago. Ms Mtintso, head of the SACP's gender desk and a former *Daily Despatch* journalist, said leaders had tended to respond to the question of gender oppression "with giggles or sniggers of 30%" although women formed more than 50% of the electorate. (5, 10, 93).

Issues of equality are being taken up by powerful progressive trade unions, political organisations and organs of civil society, all of which are supporting notions of democratisation and the extension of equal opportunities to women.⁵ With regard to the labour market, COSATU (Congress of South

African Trade Unions) is in the forefront and aims to upgrade the qualifications among its existing members, through provision of basic education, and introduce women into occupations previously denied them. However well intentioned, it is unlikely that women will benefit significantly (Budlender, 1992), and admittance to skilled jobs is not likely to occur. Men who have long been denied access to skilled work will hardly welcome women to their ranks. And such behaviour will be firmly legitimated by the ideological structure entrenched in civil society. This, of course, leaves untouched the discriminatory practices which operate in the private world of the home, where far more subtle forms of differentiation and subordination operate.

It is clear from the above discussion that COs' preoccupation until recent times has been with major issues of combating the effects of the apartheid system, and attempting to replace it. In the course of its work, many COs have been engaged with the community as such, and not taken into account the gendered needs of the community, nor the power struggles that may exist between men and women. COs, by virtue of the nature of their work, are not concerned directly with equity but rather with provision of facilities denied to an impoverished, often oppressed group of people. Their failure to regard as integral to their overall struggle the problems which women as a group experience is understandable – but needs to be challenged. This is why the present study has focused on women and their particular needs and fulfilment of interests.

WOMEN'S NEEDS AND INTERESTS

It is necessary at the outset to point to the fact that many women's needs differ from those of men, because of the gendered division of labour that operates in society. Men's needs are often particularly associated with employment as their masculine identities are inextricably linked in ideological terms to their roles as husbands, supporters of their families and heads of their families. The difference between men's and women's needs are reflected in masculine and feminine roles and the ideologies relating to these roles. At the risk of emphasising the obvious, women are responsible in the main for all domestic labour, irrespective of whether they

work in the formal or informal sector of the labour market, or whether they work in the rural areas. In effect, women work considerably longer hours than their husbands or partners, and, in rural areas, are the main producers of food. Secondly, there is no homogeneity among women. Their needs are mediated by class and ethnic differences. Arising out of these different needs are different interests. Thus a woman living at the level of subsistence will have different needs to an urban-based middle class woman. The former will be engaged in satisfying her basic needs and her interests will reflect these. The latter's concern will be totally different. If supported by her husband, her basic needs for food, warmth and shelter will be taken for granted. She will be involved in a different set of needs relating to her style and quality of life, and these will be of a totally different order to that of a rural peasant woman.

In what is now a much-quoted and highly influential article, in which she questioned a number of assumptions about the participation of women in the Nicaraguan struggle against the dictator, Somoza, Molyneux (1985) highlighted the heterogeneity of women because of their class, ethnic and gendered positions. For analytical purposes, Molyneux (1985) differentiated between women's interests derived from their different needs. She distinguished between practical and strategic interests. The latter relates to interests generated by women's knowledge and consciousness of those conditions responsible for their subordination as women and, as such, correspond to what can be termed a "feminist" agenda. Practical interests are:

... usually a response to a perceived need, and they do not generally entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality. (Molyneux, 1985, p. 23)

In other words, practical needs which generate practical interests would not address women's subordination, but rather the needs generated by the conditions in which they live. Furthermore, in meeting these needs, which often are of a basic kind, women's overall subordination would not be questioned at all.

This distinction is of particular importance and may be linked to the whole question of what constitutes "gender sensitivity". The call for organisations

and people to be "gender sensitive" requires close scrutiny. It may signify a recognition of gender inequalities and a need to tackle these. But recognising gender inequalities does not necessarily take account of the different level of needs that exist, nor the different interests. Being "gender sensitive" may result in prioritising means of addressing women's poverty and their immediate practical needs. This sensitivity may not go beyond addressing women's practical needs which do not question their traditional roles or the conditions of their subordination.⁶ Focusing on immediate needs may simply reinforce women's gendered subordination. There is a need for a more considered use of terminology when tackling issues relating to women. An organisation can become or already may be sensitive to specific women's practical needs, and this

then can be seen to be "gender sensitive". It will be argued that only if these differences are fully recognised and taken into account can gender subordination be tackled seriously.

Finally, to argue, therefore, that the work of COs could and does empower women, is questionable. It is possible that even when dealing with women's practical needs, COs may raise women's consciousness about the conditions leading to their poverty and subordination. On the basis of what has been said, women cannot be empowered because the process of conscientization does not of itself provide them with the necessary conditions to alter the circumstances of their subordination as women. It may go some way to alleviating their poverty, but this is not empowerment. Their status in society is not altered, nor are the power relations.

NOTES

1. Throughout this report, Community Organisations (COs) will be used rather than Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs). COs have had specific political connotations in the past and, as Walters has said (1993) "given the state of confusion and contestation over terminology and the reality that apartheid is not yet dead" (p. 11) it is preferable to use COs rather than NGOs.

2. Youngman (1992) identified three distinct models of development and each one's use has certain consequences. These are the modernization theory, the concept of dependency and a Marxist political economy approach. Youngman defined modernization theory as assuming that:

all societies must pass through a number of stages in a transition from "traditional" to "modern". Modern society is characterised economically by industrialization, politically by liberal democracy, and culturally by values such as individualism and achievement orientation. The model of development is provided by the advanced capitalist countries. (p. 8)

This is a model which is dominant at this point in time particularly with the collapse of the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries. It will be possible to identify much of the work of COs as falling within this category. The other two models – the dependency and the Marxist political economy – are, according to Youngman, as follows:

Dependency theory sees capitalist development as impossible and undesirable, making a nationalist appearance for a socialist alternative. Marxist political economy sees capitalist development as possible, but despite some positive effects it is undesirable, however it creates the conditions which lay the possibility for its transformation to socialism. (p. 8)

3. Knowles (1983), gave NFE a new name. He differentiated between pedagogy for children and andragogy for adults, claiming that the latter's learning needs differ totally from that of children. Andragogy is NFE for adults.

4. Many adult educationists in South Africa have drawn on the work of Gramsci as well, emphasising both the importance of theoretical understanding and the linking of NFE to political organisations. For a more detailed analysis of the development of COs see Walters and Matiwana et al (1989).

5. It is relevant to point out here that the Tripartite Alliance does not draw particular attention to women, except in regard to rural areas where it says that, "The majority of the people in rural areas are women and rural development programmes will be linked to strategies for the empowerment of women" (4, 10, 3).

6. This distinction should be considered by funders themselves who are increasingly concerned with gender-related provisions. Organisations and funders alike need to recognise the nature of the provision they wish to make available, an awareness that needs to be informed by a clear understanding of what constitutes women's needs and interests.

THE CLASSIFICATION AND TYPE OF PROVISION OF NON FORMAL EDUCATION

CLASSIFICATION OF NON FORMAL EDUCATION PROVISION

NFE provision is extremely broad and encompasses a wide number of activities, from literacy classes to learning about, say, ancient Egypt. As pointed out in the previous chapter, there is no consensus about the role, form and content of NFE. Because of this diversity, it is helpful to provide some form of classification. Almost twenty years ago, Simkins (1977) delineated three of the "most common" areas covered by NFE:

- (1) activities oriented primarily to the development of the skill and knowledge of members of the labour force who are already employed;
- (2) activities designed primarily to prepare persons, mainly youth, for entry into employment; and
- (3) activities designed to develop skill, knowledge and understanding that transcend the work world. (Simkins, 1977, quoting Harbison, p.7)

It is interesting to note that the first two are work-related – either skilling or reskilling the existing labour force or the new recruits who may not have the requisite skills. The third category is a catch-all one which encompasses anything and everything outside the world of work, and as such is very broad.

Millar (1991) classified NFE provision in South Africa somewhat differently, a classification which was used in the review of AE educational provisions in the NEPI exercise. (NEPI, AE, 1992) Millar distinguished between compensatory, upgrading and cultural/political forms of NFE. Compensatory can refer to comparable levels of the formal education system, starting at the lowest level of literacy and moving upwards. This has particular

resonance in South Africa in which the majority of Africans are illiterate, a phenomenon which has extensive repercussions in a society struggling to develop and increase its industrial capacity. Upgrading refers specifically to "continuing education that has as its function the development of knowledge and competence that leads to increased effectiveness in specific contexts, usually the work place" (Millar, 1991, p. 114), and as such corresponds to Simkins' first category. Given the fact that the majority of African workers have been denied access to training for skilled work, this sector could constitute an extremely important part of NFE. The third category is what Millar termed "cultural/political". The cultural, including recreational facilities, encompass the type of NFE which can be said to have dominated AE classes for the White population, although obviously there is some NFE provision of a cultural and recreational nature for sectors other than Whites. Political NFE provision corresponds to NFE as social movement (Aitchison, 1991) and has formed an extremely important sector of AE up to the present. Political AE in South Africa has been taken to refer to "the networks of community, worker and student organisations with the goals of social reconstruction and conscientizing agendas". (Millar, 1991)

However, when considering the plethora of NFE provisions, such a classification appears inadequate for several reasons. Beginning with the classification itself, compensatory education in South Africa other than for Whites, tends to refer, usually, to two main levels – literacy and numeracy, and secondly, classes for school matriculation certificate. As such, compensatory education caters for two distinct constituencies – one with little or no education, and the other for people with already existing levels of education, often in employment and wishing to upgrade

their education level. In Millar's terms, these two distinct and different levels are collapsed into one category, which may lead to some confusion.

Secondly, what constitutes "skill" is in itself highly problematic. Too often "skill" is taken to refer to an accepted level of expertise and qualification in the labour process, such as a motor mechanic, or electrician etc. But what comprises "skill" is far more complicated than that. Skill can refer to everyday knowledge of survival tactics. Take, for example, a woman living in a squatter camp. To feed, shelter and clothe her children requires a range of competencies not normally recognised socially as constituting a skill. Skill may be defined socially, and this may or may not be related to the labour process. For example, a woman who cooks one or several meals a day for her family is not necessarily defined as having a skill. But a person (usually a man) who cooks for a salary, is defined as having a skill. The latter is called a chef, and the former a housewife who works in a way that is expected of her. What she does clearly comprises a set of skills, but these are not recognised as such in society. Skill may refer to a set of competencies which, in turn, are related to experience in the labour market. So an apprentice bricklayer may be in the process of acquiring a skill which is job related. People with such skills often form an elite group of the working class, and their positions may be protected by organised labour movements. Thus when the deskilling processes which may follow technological innovations occurs, organised labour may struggle to maintain the title of skilled work for its members, even though the particular process has been denuded of its skill components. This point is well illustrated by the struggle of English newspaper compositors in the early 1980s against Rupert Murdoch's introduction of a computerised printing process in Wapping. On the other side, organised labour may exclude from its ranks and its union, people with skills similar to those of their own members. This was the case for many years among British engineering unions, which prevented women from becoming members. Under such circumstances the union operates as a closed shop. The White miners' trade union is another case in point. And finally, there is skilling for work in the informal sector of the economy. Thus that which comprises skill is broader than the common sense meaning of the word and covers a wide range of

activities. Its social definition is linked not only to roles in society, as seen in relation to work done by men and women, but also to struggles by organised labour.

For these reasons this study will employ a different form of classification to the one devised by Millar. It is as follows:

- (a) survival strategies which relate to NFE which aids people, particularly in urban environments to survive the harsh conditions in which they live. Such provisions may include literacy, primary health care and some homecraft skills
- (b) skilling₂ for the informal sector of the economy
- (c) skilling for the formal labour market, including training for the unemployed worker, and reskilling people already engaged in the labour market.
- (d) political NFE which, broadly speaking, is of a political nature in that it addresses questions, among other things on human rights, which have a direct bearing on people's participation in civil society.

Each one of these categories will be examined in relation to their provision for women. It must be pointed out that, for the purposes of this study, NFE provision that falls within the range of cultural activities has been excluded. This is primarily because it applies to the White middle class which, in the main, avails itself of such facilities.

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

Literacy programmes

The importance of literacy cannot be underestimated. Apart from the social and cultural elements, such as reading with children and helping with school work, it may improve existing employment possibilities, for example, domestic workers being able to take adequate messages, reading recipes – and so could enhance a woman's earning capacity. Literacy is a tool for entering the labour market. Furthermore, literacy which includes numeracy could also enhance a woman's earning capacity particularly in the informal sector. As D. Horner of Southern African Labour Development Research Unit (SAL-DRU) said in an informal interview, women who are

involved in income generating activities or co-operatives often make little or no profit because they are unable to calculate their finances. Literacy is a crucial tool for survival in an urban environment.

There is little concrete data on the overall literacy provision for people. In South Africa as a whole, only 30% of the adult population is functionally literate. (NEPI, AE, 1992) The majority of Whites, who comprise approximately 16% of the total population are literate and numerate. Illiteracy occurs among the majority of Africans, at least 60% of whom are thought to be illiterate.

Combating illiteracy has a long history. Most notable early examples of efforts at running night schools were conducted by members of the Communist Party from the 1920s onwards (Roux, 1964). Liberals entered into this sphere of work as well, and by the mid-1940s, as French (1992) described, individuals struggled to teach workers in adverse conditions during their lunch breaks. Various literacy organisations and foundations were created, each espousing a specific technique. All the night and other schools were banned by the State in the 1960s, only to be reinstated or allowed to operate in different forms a decade later.

In spite of the high rate of illiteracy, literacy provision is minimal. It is estimated that fewer than 100,000 adults are learning to become literate and this represents less than 1% of the estimated 15 million illiterates (NEPI, ABE, 1992). The night school movement reaches a relatively small number. COs while highly innovative, cannot be seen to have significantly devised a means of overcoming illiteracy. Rather the contrary seems to be the case.

There is a dearth of information, both historical and contemporary, about literacy facilities for women. It may be that men have been the main targets for some literacy classes in the past and there are fragmentary pieces of evidence of this. For example, Wilson's (1988) comments about the night schools operating in the Cape suggests that the classes were for men. She said:

Migrants who were illiterate and confused in a new urban worker society among speakers of two foreign languages [English and Afrikaans], far from wives and children, and with their few leisure hours spent in the direst of living quarters, found a warm and responsive and creative home in the night schools. (p.303)

Some COs may cater particularly for women, and indeed some (like USWE – Use Spoken and Written English) have now targeted women. Others, outside the progressive sector, such as Operation Upgrade, have been teaching literacy for the past 20 years with many women domestic workers as students, and the Rural Foundation working on farms probably has a number of women among its students³. It should be pointed out that unlike other Third World countries, the rate of illiteracy is not markedly different between men and women (NEPI, ABE, 1992), and is higher overall in rural areas proportionately.

Primary Health Care

Primary health care NFE may be varied. It could include some form of training relating to child care, nutrition, preventative measures, and so on. It can be seen as a significant part of survival strategies, particularly for women whose "traditional knowledge" and way of life may be altered significantly by moving to urban areas. Such NFE provision may fall under the aegis and control of various medically oriented COs. The nature of their provision is likely to reinforce women's ideological traditional familial roles.

Life Skills

Life skills training can be interpreted differently by different people. It may refer to "managing interpersonal human relations" and keeping a balance between "personal, small group, institutional, and broader socio-economic frameworks". It may be seen as relating especially to the community in which people live. Or it may be seen as confidence-building of individuals within a community. It is a vague and ill-defined set of provisions, which can be linked closely to politically oriented NFE.

SKILLING FOR THE INFORMAL SECTOR

The informal economy "is a critically important source of economic growth and employment for burgeoning Third World populations" (NEPI, HRD, 1992, p.59), a phenomenon recognised by such bodies as the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the World Bank. In South Africa, where an estimated one-in-four economically active person is thought to be working in the informal sector, African women's engagement in this sector has a

long history, as Berger (1992) points out, and includes beer-making, hawking fresh and prepared foods, and the sex industry. Friedman and Hambridge (1991) suggest that it may be seen as preferable to the low wages they would earn elsewhere, although Masdell (1991) says, in his study in Pietermaritzburg, that women are mainly hawkers and "hawking is survival struggle, rather than capitalist enterprise", suggesting that they have no alternative. The informal sector tends to involve individual acts, although several members of individual families may be involved in the activity of one member of the family. Where women are given training for the informal sector,⁴ it tends to be in the sphere of their traditional activities such as sewing, knitting and crocheting classes and it is here that COs have provided such training and education.

Sewing classes which feature particularly highly in NFE provision in South Africa, can serve a dual function – one purely instrumental in helping clothe the family, and the second related to income-generating work. This can be done in the confines of the home and without recourse to electricity, thus enabling the woman to be able to maintain child care at the same time. According to Budlender, who is currently analysing data from SACHED, the demand for sewing classes is extremely high among women.⁵ It is one activity, she says, which would meet their practical interests relating to some income-generating work.

Finally, given the nature of the informal economy, training provision for women can only be beneficial for them, particularly if the income-generating work is successful. Through such means, women would be better able to support their families and, at the same time, derive some measure of independence.

SKILLING FOR THE FORMAL LABOUR MARKET

There is, of course, currently in South Africa, an emphasis on skilling and reskilling for the existing labour market. Skilling of people for the labour market takes many forms, ranging from some basic skills such as brick making, laying drains, to skilled technical work involving complex technological machines and instruments. Skilling may be directed towards people who have never worked in the

labour market and have limited if any education. It may involve upgrading an existing labour force and/or skilling the unemployed labour force either to enter the existing labour market, or to work more effectively in the informal sector.

Skilling the Unemployed Worker

Skilling includes the unemployed worker. The Department of "Manpower" spent R93-million in 1991, "mainly on unemployed work seekers". (NEPI, HRD, 1993) The development of these and other State initiatives, as Millar (1991) pointed out in reference to the formal economy, was the concern of the State in beginning to "correct" the deficiencies of the system and to forge a link between formal and non-formal facilities. This latter initiative, he said, arose from a shift in official thinking and the "active partnership between the State and private sector" following the disruption caused by students' and workers' resistance to the apartheid regime.

The Department of "Manpower" has and will commission training, and may work together with organisations (such as the Western Cape Training Centre which was established in 1986 in terms of the Manpower Training Act No. 56 of 1981). Together they may set out to provide training for workers in such areas as driving, building related courses, mechanical courses, food and allied industries (WCTC, 1993). The training is likely to focus on labour-intensive schemes for men which will not only provide temporary employment, particularly in African urban areas, but will also train them while on the job. This is a clear example of the continuum of what comprises skill. Training a man how to dig a ditch without the sides collapsing is a skill, but differs from that of, say, an electrician whose training covers a number of years of study and apprenticeship.

Where training is made available to women it is likely to be in traditional areas which will not threaten male preserves, such as sewing classes, except in rural areas.⁶

Upgrading of Skills

The upgrading of skills, or reskilling, has only been peripherally provided by COs, business, and commerce. The State, through the Department of "Manpower" and other sectors, is currently addressing the problem and provides various types of training. The extent to which these are specifically

directed towards women is unknown. The likelihood is that men are the main objects of the training, although this is not the case in night schools.

This distinction between the formal and the informal markets, and the different levels of "skilling" is important. There is no reason to believe that people move in and out of these different areas and different levels of work. Someone working in the informal sector is likely to remain there and not gain access to the skilled labour market. An examination of the proceedings of a Workshop on National Training Policy (1993) by the ANC and COSATU demonstrates this point well. This document envisages the development of a career structure, providing the workforce with a degree of mobility through the existing engineering structures, via a system of training using different modules. Such training is likely to apply only to people already employed in the engineering industry and would not be available to the unemployed worker in the informal sector. This notion of flexible training fits in with the fundamental reorganisation that is characteristic of contemporary industry. Unfortunately it does not confront the problems of structured unemployment.

Night schools, reinstated by the State, while sometimes catering for the illiterates, predominantly target teachers and aim to upgrade teachers' qualifications. Such night schools, which are either State run or supported by State funds, follow the curriculum of formal schools teaching the equivalent of the last two years of formal schooling, up to matriculation exemption. There is no available data on how these schools cater for women, but several people engaged in this work have said that more women than men attend these classes, and this applies equally to African and Coloured women. In the course of collecting data for the study which follows, Ms van Zyl, the researcher, was told by one respondent that the drop-out rate was high among women. Contrary to expectations that this is caused by the innumerable difficulties women face in combining study with familial responsibilities, the reason given by the respondent relates to the question of dress. Some women, the respondent said, felt their wardrobes were inadequate. This may be indicative of poverty, and shame at being inadequately dressed in such a public setting; it may be indicative of the class membership of the women who attempt to make use of these

upgrading opportunities. Whatever the cause, it is an interesting reason and one that could be investigated further.

The question that needs to be posed is whether such measures are likely to benefit women. The answer is not straightforward.

There is consensus that the revitalisation of the economy, needed to transport South Africa competitively into world market, is essential. The emphasis is currently on skilling. The gender of the skilled workers is rarely discussed. It is apparent that the skilled population is assumed to be male. This is so for many reasons but not least because, in terms of ideologies surrounding male and female roles, men are seen as the family providers and women as the family caretakers, not engaged permanently in the labour market.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is an exception. It has played a prominent role in delineating this field, and emphasises the need to address the inequalities that operate in the labour market for women. Berger (1992) refers to the organisation's Third Congress held in July 1989, when the principle of the development of women's leadership within the trade-union movement was accepted. Their policy now goes beyond that. According to the NEPI HRD document (1992), COSATU has plans to upgrade the qualifications of its existing members through provision of basic education, and within this women workers are specifically targeted. According to the report (NEPI, HRD, 1992), COSATU wants:

- women's skills to be recognised and paid for – 'equal wages for skills of equal value';
- women trained for skilled jobs normally performed by men;
- career paths for areas of traditional women's work;
- to make it easier for women to receive training through provision of child-care facilities for all trainees, equal facilities for men and women, and non-sexist documentation. (p.38)

All these goals are commendable and would require not only extensive adult education programmes, but also the removal of a number of obstacles. Furthermore, it is necessary to recognise the contradictions which operate. COSATU, while wanting to upgrade and improve the conditions for its

members, is guided by protecting its members' rights. It cannot act on behalf of people who are not members of the organisation, however well intentioned it may be.

It is necessary, at this point, to note African women's overall position in the formal economy – predominantly in domestic work, with smaller numbers in production and the service industry, generally earning far less than men. Where they are employed they occupy the lowest paid, lowest skilled, and lowest status jobs in industry. In industry, for example, many women work as cleaners, and, as Budlender (1992) pointed out, even if they become functionally literate through a skilling programme at work in the industrial or commercial spheres, there can be no career path in such work. To progress, such women would have to find new employment, and that is no easy task. Furthermore, a significant number of women are employed in the informal sector.

It also cannot be assumed that women would take advantage of available training. There are factors which mitigate against this, primarily because of their domestic responsibilities. Women's work in the labour market cannot be divorced from their broader familial responsibilities and, with the increasing number of households headed by women, this becomes even more important. The range of women's responsibilities go way beyond pre-school child care. They care for dependents, supervise older children and have household labour to perform. Because of their responsibilities at home the amount of time they can devote to continuing education is limited and their motivation is likely to be low.

Then there is another dimension. Breaking the monopoly that men have had over the job market has made little progress in Western European countries over the past 20 years, in spite of equal opportunity programmes. Here there is likely to be a struggle by men to safeguard their skilled work once they gain access to it. With the collapse of apartheid, African men, in particular, are striving to acquire skilled training for the formal labour market, in order to join the ranks of the higher paid artisan. Having campaigned for so long to get access to skilled work, is it likely they will allow women into their ranks? This puts into question one of the COSATU goals, viz. for "women [to] train for skilled jobs normally performed by men". Men may legitimate their exclusion of women on the grounds

of the age-old argument that they should earn a "family wage" (Land, 1980; Beechey, 1986). Further the author has, in the course of teaching mature students at all levels – graduate, post-graduate and trade unionists – come across reactions by both Coloured and African men who legitimate the position of women as dependents in the family by invoking ideological arguments about "traditional" family values and/or religious beliefs which prescribe women's activities.

This somewhat schematic presentation suggests that, on the basis of the past history of NFE provision, the bulk of training for the labour market is likely to be carried out by state or private enterprise initiatives. Skilling for the formal labour market is not the major concern of COs. Where training for working class women is provided by COs it is likely to be at the lowest level of skill. The study which is described in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 will provide some evidence for this.

POLITICAL NFE

Political NFE appears to have dominated COs' provision over the past 10 years or more and is varied. Case studies (Walters, 1989) have pointed to the contradictions among these organisations, and lack of consensus about basic principles, although they may all claim to be informed by theoretical discussions. The following reveals the wide range of what can constitute political education. Matiwana *et al.* (1989) surveyed organisations which "have historically been viewed as training grounds for the development of leadership skills". (p.14) To qualify for inclusion in the study, none of the organisations could have received a state subsidy or been concerned solely with leisure or recreational pursuits; they had to provide informal or non-formal education. Education was conceptualised in its broadest sense and concentrated on training for democratic leadership and participation. Hence a workshop of a few hours, learning how to run a committee, counselling, legal support for detainees, discussion groups, and so on, all constituted "education". Anything that related to the very broad goals of overthrowing apartheid and setting up an alternate society was defined as educational. It was thought that the people who worked within the framework of these organisations were being groomed for taking over power in the communities; they were learning

how to organise, run committees, engage with bureaucracy on behalf of the community, and so on.

Once again, the question may be posed as to how political NFE relates to women. Issues relating to fighting rent increases, absence of community services, absence of transport, and so on, were high on the agenda of community organisations. While these obviously impinged on the lives of women as the household managers, the problems were subsumed and appropriated under the heading of "community". Indeed, what comprises the "community" is taken for granted, and it appears as a homogeneous group of people with a common identity and shared goals. Communities are much more heterogeneous than this.

Thus, the political sector of AE provision is problematic when it comes to considering how women's specific needs and interests, relating to their gendered position, are being addressed. Under the guiding principle of AE as a social movement concerned with redressing the wrongs of the underprivileged people, a number of initiatives have been taken to "empower" the people. But the actual content of the provisions is unclear and it has yet to be established to what extent the recipients, both men and women, have benefited. As for women, neither their practical nor strategic interests determine the agenda, although they are likely to benefit from any improvements achieved for the "community".

Although many of the problems dealt with under the heading of the needs of the community have direct relevance to survival strategies for women, the discourse on community problems ignores the direct link with women's lives. This in itself is not surprising, particularly as issues relating to gender differences have been scorned in the political context as discussed in Chapter 1. There is little doubt that at the height of the struggle against the State, and even up to the present, women participated fully in community organisations. Certainly many women gained in self confidence and developed their organising abilities in the process.

It is only since the late 1970s that there has been a marked development of women's organisations whose agenda can be said to focus on feminist issues.⁷ These organisations include Rape Crisis centres throughout the country, which have been both educative and practical in that they train counsellors and provide support for victims of violence, and organisations concerned with development

issues. But such organisations cannot be neatly classified under the rubric of AE as a social movement in its broadest sense. Rape Crisis is concerned with a specific sector of the community and for highly specific purposes. Its work does not fall within the broad category of AE as a social movement concerned with broad social issues.

CONCLUSIONS

While the focus of NFE in South Africa may have been on contributing to the overthrow of the apartheid regime, particularly through conscientization programmes among local community groups, this does not comprise the sum total of their activities. The classification demarcates the differences between the various levels of NFE provision. Beginning with the strategies for survival, this category obviously covers a disparate range of activities, none of which is directly related to the labour market. As such, these activities are more directly related to quality of life and potentially play an extremely important role in people's lives, men and women alike. The provisions relating to the potential relationship between NFE and the formal and informal aspects of the economy are of a different order. NFE is concerned with people who are underprivileged and live in poverty. One of the major means of escaping the poverty trap is through paid employment. At the present time, South Africa is in the throes of a depression, to which political unrest contributes significantly. Yet there are plans to develop the economic potential of the country through, among other things, training a future labour population, upgrading or reskilling the existing labour force, and engaging in a massive educational programme which may address the inequities generated by apartheid and affect all but the White population. What part NFE can play in such a recovery remains to be seen.

The link between NFE and the labour market is important for other reasons. One is the future emphasis that is likely to be placed by funders on training which provides some skill for the labour market. The second reason is that given the very high rate of unemployment, particularly among Africans, people who pursue some form of AE express an interest in training which can assist them in finding a job. However, this does not mean that those activities geared towards survival strategies

which have particular relevance for women, or training which is appropriate for individuals to work within the community, are being judged irrelevant or unimportant. It is rather recognising the potential of NFE in helping people enter the labour market where possible. This is of particular importance to women on whom increasingly the burden of supporting a family falls.

The significant changes in South Africa and the move towards a democracy in which issues of underemployment, unemployment and dire living conditions will be addressed, generate new agendas particularly for those agencies concerned with NFE. NFE differs markedly from formal education provi-

sion in many ways and these differences constitute the strength and the weakness of NFE.

It has been suggested, and it will be explored in the study which is discussed next, that NFE provisions for women are limited in assisting them to enter the labour market, although upgrading may help those already employed in the labour market, and those with some recognisable skills. There are, of course, a variety of provisions which cater for women, but the extent to which they help them escape the poverty trap and the oppressive conditions characteristic of women's lives needs to be established. The study which follows aims to examine this.

NOTES

1. This Chapter, as well as Chapter 1 are derived from an article, "Inserting Feminism into Adult Education" in *Perspectives in Education*, Vol. 15, No 1 Summer 93/94.

2. It is interesting to note that COSATU talks in terms of "skill training" in order to circumvent the problems relating to what constitutes skill and what constitutes training.

3. I am grateful to Debby Buddender for these comments.

4. Much of the training by development agencies in the past has been directed to one or other aspect of the informal economy. According to Prof K King, in a recent lecture given at UWC, much of this, particularly relating to income generating for women, has been heavily criticised as ineffectual and failing in overall aims. Such comments are usually directed to the rural areas because it is only recently that urban areas have become the recipients of development funding. (Levy, 1991) It has yet to be established that assistance related to the informal economy in the urban environment would be liable to the same criticism, although parts of it may be as the discussion on sewing indicates.

5. This is a personal comment made to the author.

6. Experience has shown that where some agencies provide training in rural and semi-rural areas, it is mostly women who come forward for such training. The absence of young men may well account for this.

7. It should be emphasised, though, that women's organisations have a long history in South Africa. Most, apart from the majority of White women's organisations, have been characterised by resistance to unjust laws and one of the earliest is an organisation believed to have been founded in 1912 including both African and Coloured women. (Walker, 1991) African women have struggled to have the right to freedom of movement, to join their husbands in the urban areas, and to gain access to employment. Among the most notable struggles have been the "anti-pass campaigns", campaigns directed against the carrying of the infamous "passes" which Africans were forced to carry in the past, and which were an oppressive form of control.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOME NON FORMAL EDUCATIONAL PROVISION BY COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN THE WESTERN CAPE

It is taken as given that women have specific needs, derived from their particular roles in society, the main one being related to home and child care. At the risk of repeating the obvious, women shoulder additional burdens in that they maintain their households, and very often are the sole supporters of them. The burden of home care is women's responsibility, and as pointed out in a previous chapter, their working hours are considerably longer than men's. Yet women's specific needs are not necessarily understood or taken into account by various organisations, even at the most obvious levels of providing some form of child care if they are to participate in NFE, or providing transport to and from meeting points given the dangers of physical sexual attacks. It is this recognition of the specificity of women's needs that determined the focus of this particular study which has concentrated on Black women. It should be pointed out that provision for White women has been excluded as the majority tend to cluster in the lower, middle and upper middle classes. To a certain extent their practical needs have been catered for largely through religious-based organisations, an existing set of social services, and a state-supported system as referred to in Chapter 1.

AIM OF THE STUDY

The study set out to map the provision by a sample of community organisations in the Western Cape of education/training, including that for young people, and particularly for women, in order to provide a general view of these provisions and how they meet the needs and interests of women. In particular the aims of the research proposal were:

- to establish the structure and organisational framework of the organisations in order to try and evaluate their provisions, through:

- identifying the different forms of NFE available, and how these cater for women.
- establish the nature of the educational/training facilities provided and the profile of the trainers.

Overall it was hoped that the study would:

- provide data which could prove of value to adult educators and practitioners.
- establish a set of priorities in regard to adult education for women.
- contribute to the formulation of a future adult education policy with direct reference to women in regard to overall aims, organisational structure and content of courses.

THE WESTERN CAPE

The study has concentrated on NFE provision not only in Cape Town but also in the Western Cape. According to The Association for the Promotion of the Western Cape's Economic Growth (WESGRO):

The Western Cape has an area slightly larger than Switzerland and occupies 4% of South Africa. It contains about 10% of the country's surface water resources, 10% of arable soils, outstanding scenery and amenity, and a pleasant climate. ... the region accommodates 9% of the country's population and produces 12% of the gross geographic product (WESGRO p.2).

The rural areas of the Western Cape are different to those in the rest of South Africa. The land is occupied largely by white farmers who are engaged in intensive agriculture requiring comparatively high inputs of labour. Agriculture in the region has generally been profitable, bringing economic growth to the areas. The region also has an unusually large number of small to medium sized towns, well distributed,

bringing a comparatively close contact between towns and rural areas (WESGRO p.13)

There is a significant difference between urban/rural areas. The small towns in the *platteland* are isolated; the youth very often alienated and involved in gang warfare. Alcoholism is rife and constitutes a major problem, although, as will be seen, this particular problem is not addressed by the COs in this sample. The Western Cape has its own specific history and background, and the ethnic composition differs from that of other regions in the country. Because of this, a brief discussion will be given of two of the main ethnic groups with which this study is concerned, viz. Coloured and African. As pointed out earlier AE provision for Whites has been predominantly of a cultural/recreational nature, and has been part of state provision through the Department of Cultural Affairs. It is only in recent years that a section of the White working class has been affected by the increasing rate of unemployment, and facilities for people thus affected might well have to be provided by existing COs. At the moment, however, their needs are numerically far less than that of the Coloured or African sections of the community, and it is for this reason that this study has concentrated on provision for them.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN THE WESTERN CAPE

For the purposes of this study the term ethnic/ethnicity, rather than the word "race", will be used to denote differences between various sectors of the population. The word "race" is taken as referring to a biologically-determined set of people who may be demarcated from other groups by distinct biological characteristics; ethnicity is taken to refer to cultural, linguistic, and historical differences which demarcate one section from the other. In South Africa, the four main ethnic groups – the Africans, Coloureds, Whites and Asians – themselves are far from homogeneous, with most sections exhibiting discrete differences between themselves, not only in terms of class, but also in terms of cultural differences.

However, institutionalised racism of the apartheid system has discriminated against all but the White population of South Africa. Although the

Black people may, in political terms, present a unified face of opposition to apartheid, there are significant differences between them which need to be drawn out. What follows is a thumb sketch of these differences, with particular reference to the African and Coloured women of the Western Cape.

Although accurate figures about the different ethnic groups are not available in the Western Cape, it is estimated that there are 1 767 470 women of whom 14% are African, 60% Coloured, 1% Indian, and 25% White. In relation to the total of each group in the country, they represent 2% of all African women, 63% of all Coloured women, 3% of all Indian women, and 17% of all White women in the country (Budlender *et al.* 1993). It is common knowledge that White women enjoy the highest standard of living, and that of Black women, African women have to endure the harshest social conditions, both in rural and urban areas.

Because of the very small number of Indian women in this region, the study has excluded them from the analysis and will focus on provisions for African and Coloured Women. What follows is a brief discussion on the background of these two groups.

African Women

Historically, from the 19th century, succeeding governments sought, through various legislative means, to control and restrict Africans' entry and permanent residence in the Cape. It was The Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1925 which attempted to exclude Africans from entering urban areas and here the women were particularly victimised. Only women with guaranteed accommodation and who were married were allowed into city areas, effectively excluding young unmarried women and children between certain ages. Even if resident in an urban area for a considerable period, widows could be forced to leave the area after their husband's death. In spite of these restrictions, segregated townships with permanent residents grew, Langa being the longest established area in Cape Town.

The advent of the Nationalist Government in 1948 resulted in more stringent measures to control the influx of African male workers and their wives from rural areas. There was consistent and continuous protest against these restrictions. From the 1970s onwards, women in general were defiant and

resisted the concerted attempts by the forces of the State to destroy their homes and remove them from the urban squatter camps they occupied. The struggles in squatter camps like Crossroads received world-wide attention. Notwithstanding harsh and repressive measures, economic forces resulted in the increase in all urban areas of African working class men and their wives. In Cape Town, by 1983, a crisis had emerged in regard to the need for urban housing for Africans. An area 20 kilometres from Cape Town, known as Khayelitsha, was allocated as a dormitory town. It now houses an estimated 400 000 people (Conradie, 1992, p.57), the majority of whom live under harsh conditions, with few amenities. Recent studies (Cooper *et al.*, 1992) have confirmed that, as with the African population in general, the youth and young adults are in the majority: 38% under 15, and 77% under 35.

The same study highlighted the status of women in the area:

Of the 659 female respondents, 7% had received no formal education, 39% had primary school education 54% had secondary school education. Unemployment amongst women was 45%. Domestic service accounted for 66.2% of formal employment, 86% of all women were unskilled, 71.9% of women were born in a 'homeland' and 69.7% had migrated to an urban area prior to 1985. Ties to the rural areas were strong, particularly in the shack areas. "New arrivals" to an urban areas were young, mostly unemployed and lived in the worst environmental conditions. In the unserviced shack areas, 47.5% of women had migrated to an urban area in the last five years. (Cooper *et al.*, 1992, p.1)

Khayelitsha has a constant flow of people in and out of it, and it is difficult to gauge the exact numbers at any one point in time. Whatever the situation there, it would seem that the influx of Africans into the Cape Town region is set to increase. Conradie (1992) says that:

Whatever the exact nature of the future demographic pattern, the African population group, so long a discounted minority in the Western Cape, is certain to be the largest population group by the turn of the century. (p. 176)

In conclusion, there is a group of Africans who have lived in the Western Cape for a considerable time, notwithstanding all the measures designed to exclude them. But there is an ever-increasing number of recent arrivals from rural areas who occupy squatter camps and whose living conditions are dire. Apart from urgent needs for all social amenities, all social problems associated with extreme poverty and high rates of unemployment are present.

Coloured Women

The second ethnic group with which this report deals is the so-called Coloured people. After colonisation, South Africa was composed of Africans, descendants of Indonesian Muslims, slaves brought from Indonesia, the Khosian people, people of "mixed" marriages, and European colonists. By the mid 19th century a complex ethnic hierarchy had been established distinguishing people of European descent from all others. Irrespective of their origin, the remaining population was referred to as Coloured. By 1904, the term "Coloured" differentiated between Africans and "all intermediate shades between Whites and Africans" (Goldin, 1987, p. 158), establishing what Goldin claims was an identity for Coloured people, submerging their different origins, and creating a divide between this group of people and Africans. The question of a Coloured identity is questionable, given that as a group they practice different religions, and have different cultural practices, mostly related to their religious differences. But it was the early distinction that became entrenched through legislation with Coloured people being given preferential employment opportunities in comparison with Africans, although discrimination against them continued. Coloureds were never subjected to influx control, but were disenfranchised and, like the Africans, forcibly removed from homes they had occupied historically.

Coloured labour preference policy, which had been in existence since the early part of the 20th century, was reinforced and legislatively confirmed by the Nationalist government. This labour preference policy, which was finally discarded in 1984, has been seen, according to Goldin (1987), as a means of reinforcing an identity among this group of people.

Increasingly, access to jobs, residence and housing in the Western Cape became predicated on the assertion of Coloured identity. By restructur-

ing the world that the working class and petty bourgeoisie [Coloured] inhabit, the regime laid the material base for the continued ethnic fragmentation of opposition to the ruling class. (Goldin 1987, p.175)

On the basis of this obviously highly simplified outline, some of the issues whereby a Coloured population may be identified and distinguished from both African and White people have been described. It is not surprising that historically, culturally, politically, linguistically and religiously there are vast differences between African and Coloured women. These differences are apparent in their work and education profiles which will be briefly discussed below.

However, for political reasons associated with the struggle against apartheid, to break down the effect of apartheid and the need to build solidarity, such differences are largely ignored by people in the progressive movement at present. Understandably there is a strong tendency to refer to both Coloured and African people as Black, irrespective of these differences, the great divide being between Black and White people. Nor are the differences between African and Coloured people referred to in the world of AE, although they must affect the way in which each group's needs would be articulated and provisions made to meet these needs.

Work Profiles of African and Coloured Women

The work profiles of African and Coloured women are markedly different. Although African women entered the labour market as far back as 1877, in Kimberley, for example, with the opening of the diamond mines, they found employment in the informal sector, selling beer or as prostitutes (Walker, 1990) and subsequently in domestic service. Coloured women have worked on White-owned farms, have been employed in domestic service in the Western Cape, but have also entered (in significant numbers) the labour force in industry, particularly in the garment industry, thus demarcating a marked difference between the two groups. Furthermore, there is a difference in terms of domicile with more Coloured women proportionately in urban areas than African women in the past.

The period of thirty years, between 1940 and 1970, witnessed a massive increase in the overall

productivity of South Africa, but here the major source of cheap, unskilled or semi-skilled labour was African men. Changes took place among working class women as well. White women who were initially employed in factories moved into skilled jobs and Coloured women "have moved into clerical, administrative and sales related work albeit at lower levels of skills to most white women". (SALDRU, p.13) African women moved into the jobs vacated by Coloured women, a phenomenon commented upon by Berger (1992).

The result of the control over African women's entry into the urban areas in the past, and the preferential labour policy directed towards Coloured people has ensured that African women by far constitute the greatest number and spread across sectors of unskilled workers. As noted from the data on Khayelitsha, the majority of African women are employed as domestic workers. Thus the hierarchy of the labour force is based on ethnic identity.

... African women ... the most significant and growing proportion of the female labour force, have moved into the least skilled, labour intensive and lowest paying jobs, vulnerable to changes in the economy and more often than not placed into competitive positions *vis-a-vis* other Black women and Black men. (SALDRU, p.24)

This data refers, of course, to the formal labour market. African women have also, since their illegal entry into urban areas, worked in the informal sector. Since deregulation of the informal economy (Rogerson and Preston-Whyte, 1991) there has been a massive increase in this sector, and it is now estimated that one in four people is engaged in this type of work. (NEPI, HRD, 1992)

Currently, the level of unemployment in South Africa is known to be very high, although there are no accurate figures. The Race Relations Survey of 1992/3 stated that the population census:

said that in March 1991 one out of every five people ... in South Africa ... considered themselves unemployed. The census indicated that African unemployment was the highest at 25% ... while the Coloured unemployment rate ... was 17% ... and the white rate 4%. (1993, p.179)

Unemployment data in the Western Cape, as elsewhere, is "most unreliable" (WESGRO, 1991, p.26). This report estimates that between 45% and 53.5% of the African labour force in metropolitan Cape Town in 1990, is unemployed or engaged in the informal sector, as contrasted with between 11.4% and 22.5% of the Coloured labour force. Figures on women's unemployment, in general, are not available. It is known though that among Coloured women there is a job loss in the garment industry estimated at 5 000 per annum (Wentzel, 1993) and this is likely to have a marked effect on the community.

Educational Profiles of African and Coloured Women

Overall, the low level of educational attainment is reflected in an estimate by the National Manpower Commission which said that "51% of South Africa's economically active population had a level of education below Standard 7. The proportion of Africans in this category was 69%" (SAIRR, 1993, p.582). There has been, nevertheless, a continuous increase in the number of Africans going to school, with an increase of 21% between 1987 and 1991.

Levels of attainment between the two groups differs considerably and can be seen from the results obtained at the matriculation level (that is, the school leaving certificate which controls entrance to tertiary education). Of those who wrote the examination, 41% of Africans passed as compared with 83% of Coloured pupils, and the level of passing among the Africans is far lower, with 87% passing with an aggregate between 33.5% and 49% (SAIRR, 1993). The level of qualification between African and Coloured teachers also differs significantly, with 21% of all African professionally qualified teachers with Standard 9 or less (Standard 10 is the school leaving level), as compared with 1.8% Coloured teachers in the same category.

In spite of overall educational expansion the number of illiterates is high. There are no accurate figures, and estimates vary considerably. Based on 1985 figures, the difference between African and Coloured rates of illiteracy are startling. An estimated 67.3% of African women as contrasted with 11.6% of Coloured women are illiterate (Unterhalter, 1991, p. 80).

Although the number of girls completing school is higher than that of boys, all the known aspects of gender differentiation which exist in First World countries appear to operate in South African schools, with girls clustered in particular subject areas and pursuing specific disciplines in higher and further education. But these differences have not been considered important, either by the progressive movement as a whole, or the State up to the present. (Unterhalter, 1991) The struggle by the progressive movement has been directed towards equity in facilities and provision, with that of the Whites taken as the yardstick. Overall, however, it is evident that African women are less educated than Coloured women.

Suffice to say that in general the majority of African women are likely to be illiterate. Coloured women in urban areas, on the other hand, experience a higher level of education than African women.

To work towards a non-racist system is complicated by the different conditions of African and Coloured women in terms of their educational levels, their occupational chances, and their overall living conditions, although both have been subjected to institutionalised racism. These differences will have to be taken into account by NFE and, probably already are, in regard to the nature of their provisions. As an example, one organisation which trains women in needlework and making of leather goods etc. has said that their Coloured women members have asked for training in the making of soft toys, while the African women have requested sewing classes for making clothes. Each group has a different agenda. How can NFE contribute to ameliorating conditions and reducing both racist and sexist practices in the course of its activities?

SAMPLE OF COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

Organisations to be selected for study came from the metropolitan areas of Cape Town and the rural areas in the Western Cape. The names of organisations were derived mainly from those listed in *The Struggle for Democracy* (Matiwana, 1989) on the basis that they comprised "non-formal educational organizations within the democratic movement". This publication listed 426 organisations, operating since 1960 (some now defunct), all of which fell within the definition of community organisations and meeting the following criteria:

- non-governmental
- organisations concerned with social and political issues, rather than exclusively with recreation or leisure;
- organisations concerned with informal or non-formal education within their fields of interest. (Matiwana, 1989, p. 10)

Education, according to *The Struggle for Democracy*, was conceptualised broadly and included the following activities: training for democratic leadership; participation in workshops irrespective of the number attended; learning how to run a committee; counselling; legal support for detainees; discussion groups; and organising for improved social conditions. For the purposes of this study, however, what constitutes education and/or training was defined more narrowly. It was taken as transmitting skills which would meet, to a certain extent, women's interests, whether of a practical or strategic nature (as discussed in Chapter 1), and would also include training in relation to human rights. Consequently, in selecting a sample, the goals of the organisations were scrutinised as well as the training provided. This section of the project and the conduct of interviews was undertaken by Ms van Zyl. Some organisations which were known to the researcher but had been omitted in the publication were also included.

A total of 90 organisations were initially selected on the basis that it appeared that they provided some form of training which conformed to the criteria. Letters were sent to these organisations setting out the aims, methods, and possible benefits of the study. The same letter advised that a follow-up telephone call would be made which would give the organisation ample chance of raising any objections and refusing to participate in the study. The letters were followed with up to three telephone calls to establish contact, to determine whether the CO provided training, seek permission for an interview and make necessary arrangements. Within reason attempts were also made to establish contact with organisations without telephone numbers. It was found that several organisations no longer operated although they had been listed. Further, the researcher discovered that some had moved to addresses unknown, reflecting the somewhat impermanent nature of many COs. Some organisations responded by saying that their activities did not warrant an interview.

Subsequent to this, the training co-ordinators of 60 organisations were contacted directly. If they had conducted any training since the beginning of 1991 they were to be included. Only those COs which ran a minimum of three workshops, totalling approximately nine hours, were to be included for final selection. The decision for a minimum of three workshops was an arbitrary one, established on the basis that anything less than that would not constitute training which could be evaluated, nor could it minimally skill a person. Organisations which provided one-off lecture programmes were excluded.

Of a final list of 40 possible organisations, the training co-ordinators of 27 organisations (see Appendix A) were interviewed, but represented all the different types of training provided as discussed above. The rural areas were represented by six organisations. A year later, the director of the Triple Trust, an organisation which now employs 60 people (having grown from four in 1988) was interviewed. This was done because the organisation has 16 training centres in the Western Cape, with a total number of 3 510 people having been trained since 1988. On the basis of the size of the organisation, the apparent success of its training schemes, and the numbers of women involved, it was decided to include details on Triple Trust in this study, even though the interview was conducted one year later than the others.

INTERVIEWS WITH TRAINING CO-ORDINATORS

No research was conducted without prior consent of the informants. Further, the identity of all informants has been protected and verbatim comments, where given, are anonymous.

It should be pointed out that the interviews were conducted often with people already known to the interviewer, or familiar with the work of the interviewer, or vice versa. The CO world is relatively small in the Western Cape. As pointed out elsewhere, there is no consensus among adult educationists, and this could have constituted a problem in terms of objectivity as the views of interviewer and interviewee may have been known. However, the researcher is of the opinion that this situation proved beneficial in the end, particularly in regard to sensitive comments which otherwise

might not have been made. She feels that a great deal of information may otherwise not have been forthcoming.

Interviews were conducted in either Afrikaans or English according to the language of the training co-ordinator and were taped. (See Appendix B for a copy of the English questionnaire – an Afrikaans version is also available). The researcher gave the interviewee, a chance to raise any queries prior to the interview and also gave a summary of what the interview schedule hoped to achieve.

At the end of the interview, informants were told they would be provided with a copy of the final report. Many of the organisations requested follow-up workshops; some suggested the establishment of

a communications and network system to exchange, among other things, information on training and problems related to funding. One organisation requested an evaluation process of their training with their clients.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The schedule included open-ended and structured questions, and was designed to elicit details on the structure of organisations, the training they provided and the problems and future recommendations they would like to make.

The interviews took place between April and August 1992.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STRUCTURES OF THE ORGANISATIONS

All facets of the structures of the organisations were examined, through interviews with the trainers, and these details are presented below. Through a wide range of questions it was hoped to establish how the organisations address the questions relating to the specificity of women's needs and what evidence there is that they do so. Not surprisingly, very few of the organisations' goals identify these. What is immediately obvious, however, is how extensive the goals of these organisations are, and these are neither correlated with size nor their economic viability. Indeed some organisations are clearly very fragile and their existence lies in the balance. Many organisations expressed concern for the future and a need to respond to the changing social conditions. Given the clear need for a development of adult educational facilities in the coming years to achieve equity/development, the following data reveals the urgent need for rationalisation of resources and a more coherent adult education policy.

LOCATION OF ORGANISATIONS

Most of the interviews took place at the offices of the COs, and these are scattered throughout greater Cape Town. Typically, ten occupy converted residential premises; the same number are situated in low-rise small-scale business centres; two are located on university campuses; one had no fixed premises at the time and had to make use of other venues; one is situated in a Cape Town city centre high-rise building; and one is in a well-appointed industrial/business complex. The rural organisations are similar to the majority of their Cape Town colleagues.

Although organisations had offices in business districts, some had branches in the townships

(eg. NICRO, CECS, CWD). Usually training was co-ordinated from the office, though often held at venues convenient for the clients. What is interesting is the fact that none of the head offices is situated in Mitchells Plain, a major Coloured residential area, or any of the African residential areas of Khayalitsha, Guguletu, Langa or Nyanga.

The offices of most of these organisations could be described as comfortably functional, with minimal luxuries like carpets or comfortable chairs. There was no tangible difference between the rural or urban offices – and all were sited near public transport routes and terminuses.

NATIONAL AND INDEPENDENTLY LOCATED ORGANISATIONS

Some of the COs operating in the Western Cape are branches of national organisations, while others are individual ones having been formed to meet a particular need. The SA National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO), for example, is a national organisation. The training it provides in the Cape is co-ordinated from a central office in Cape Town. The Black Sash is another national organisation. USWE (Use Spoken and Written English) began its life in Johannesburg and moved to Cape Town several years ago. LEAP (Legal Education Action Project), formed in 1986 is part of the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cape Town (UCT). It links the question of legal rights to its socio-economic context, and works mainly in rural areas where people generally do not have access to legal assistance. The Community Education Computer Society is also a local organisation, founded in 1985. Phambili, whose full name is Phambili Squatter and Rural Women's Development Centre, is another

local organisation. These details reflect the differences which exist between the organisations.

NATURE OF ORGANISATIONS

Age of Organisations

It has already been pointed out that there was an upsurge of COs from the mid 1980s onwards, and consequently one could expect that the ages of the organisations in the sample reflect this. Fifteen, or just over half, have been in existence for up to 5 years, five have operated over the past 5-10 years, six between 10-20 years and three have been in existence for more than 20 years – NICRO for 80 years, Black Sash for 37, and World Vision for 25 years, and all three appear quite strong. Two of the youngest organisations are Phambili, formed in 1991, with an office in one of Cape Town's suburbs, and SAHSSO formed in 1992. The former is concerned with community health work and the latter an umbrella organisation aimed at training practitioners. The focus of some of the youngest organisations have explicit guiding principles and highly specific goals.

A year after the interviews Ms van Zyl, the researcher, had personal knowledge of three organisations that were floundering, of which two were in the process of closing down although they had survived for over 15 years.

The cause of the rise and fall of some of the organisations appears to be highly idiosyncratic and would have to be accounted for individually. Problems in regard to raising funds, mismanagement of funding in the organisation, the decrease of commitment of staff, many of whom worked voluntarily, the irregularity of their pay (at the time of writing the author was told that one organisation, which has operated for 10 years, did not have money to pay its workers over the past year, and is now going out of action), absence of realistic goals, inexperience in running an organisation, ideological differences in management, and no longer being needed are just some of the factors which respondents have suggested account for this. The age of the organisation does not appear to be correlated with its life span.

Size of Organisations

Number of staff members in the organisations

0-5	5-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	60-65
12	4	6	2	2	2

The size of the organisations, like their aims, vary enormously. It is not possible to compare staffing between different organisations because there is no correlation between their functioning, activities, structures and procedures. These may vary enormously: for example SAHSSO has one member of staff compared with Rape Crisis with 65 members, of whom only five are paid and the rest volunteers. The SAHSSO member of staff co-ordinates and organises the training of health workers and indirectly reaches a large number of women. The number of staff members is not necessarily commensurate with the nature of the work performed, nor the cost-effectiveness of the organisation. Rape Crisis, with the largest numbers, 65 staff, trains 250 people, whereas ERIP with only nine members of staff reaches an estimated 1 570, and Karoo Resource Centre (KRC – a rural based organisation) with only four claims to reach a total of 6 000. The Black Sash has five paid members of staff, but a large band of volunteer members who carry out a range of activities. Each of these organisations has a totally different agenda and provides very different forms of training: Rape Crisis provides intensive small-group training with a staff-trainee ratio of about 2:5, whereas ERIP runs short courses for large numbers of community workers and others. ERIP reported that its most significant and successful training consisted of a 16-session course of three hours each. Karoo Resource Centre (KRC) covers a vast geographical area. Their trainers train youth counsellors who themselves visit isolated communities in little towns. Utilising the ripple effect of training, they estimate they reach 6 000 people a year. These differences will be discussed in the section on training below.

The size of the organisation and its comparative cost-effectiveness is impossible to establish, given the considerable variation in the nature of the work and the numbers who are reached. However, and this point should be emphasised, this does not prevent critics who do not take these factors into account from lambasting what is seen to be an expensive and ineffectual mode of NFE provision. Some recommend that only NFE which is directly related to training for the labour market or ABE should be included in an overall future State policy (NEPI, **Framework**, 1993).

Aims of Organisations

As stated elsewhere, much of the work of AE and NFE has been regarded by the practitioners as transformatory of the conditions of the clients in society, but not necessarily of the society as a whole. The religiously inspired organisations could be said to fall into this category, although this is certainly not always the case. These organisations may be multi-faceted with a number of activities guided by their overarching main mission statement. Catholic Welfare and Development (CWD) sets out to "empower" the community and seeks to get people to look at their lives and problems and how to solve them. World Vision is another example. It is one of the elder organisations in the country and it has been in existence for 25 years. Its sixth objective states:

We encourage people everywhere to see beyond their own situation and interests, and care about the needs of others. We use all appropriate and cost efficient communication channels to accomplish this.

But, in addition, it says:

Our work is not simply feeding the hungry masses, but partnering the most needy to develop self-reliance. Our development approach concentrates on the needs of pre-school children and their communities, promotes positive change towards a united, free and open society, working in partnership with our donor and recipient audiences to reduce the need for charity.

Its goals are informed by a welfare view and seeks to reduce the mass "needs for charity". Its objectives are: child and family care; emergency aid; development; leadership development; sharing faith; and mission challenge. Its aims are diverse, but its activities are somewhat circumscribed.

In South Africa, while one of the main goals of COs has been described as the dismantling of the apartheid state, it will be interesting to see how many fall within this particular classification. Clearly those which can be classified as political would reflect this focus, although there has been neither unanimity among the practitioners on how to achieve this, nor a uniformity in their activities. Others have mission statements which may be gen-

eral and directed to alleviating the outcome of poverty, such as income-generating work, primary health care, and so on. Whether the organisations meet their stated aims or fulfil all the activities they say they will carry out is obviously questionable. Many of the mission statements reflect the organisations' underlying ideological views. In some cases they are easily identifiable, as for example World Vision, which draws on Christian values and has a welfare approach; they may be quite direct like Business Skills Development Centre (BSDC) which acknowledges the effects of apartheid education and sets out through business courses to train Black women who would not otherwise have the chance to enter the commercial/administrative world. It is not surprising that adult educationists express their concern at having to classify the aims and activities of COs. The aims may be multi-faceted but their activities singular; on the other hand, their aims may be discrete but their activities varied. There are examples of complex goals which are ambitious and multifaceted, and others whose goals are simple and direct. Some details of various types of organisations in the sample will now be given.

Description of the Nature of Organisations

Single Purpose Organisations

BSDC is an example of a single purpose organisation. Its overall aim is directed towards redressing some of the inequalities of the apartheid system, and spells it out as follows:

... to redress educational deficiencies and improve contact between black people (especially women) and the business world. Sound, basic office skills, business English and personal development are provided. An emphasis is placed on making the course practical and relevant to the students' lives and the business environment. The Centre is located in Cape Town itself, to maximize the aspect of business orientation.

In practice it provides a highly organised set of courses, full- and part-time, for Black women (and a few men) who receive accreditation on comple-

tion of the course and who are able to enter the business world competitively.

The Black Sash is another organisation which has a single purpose in that it is concerned with human rights; but in addressing this it has developed a range of different activities. Rape Crisis deals with sexual abuse. SAHSSO is concerned with primary health care. Several organisations attempt to skill their clients.

Multi-Purpose Organisations

In many instances, the mission statements are very general and the activities they set out to provide may be highly ambitious. For example, Phambili's goal is "To look at rural working class women and community development in its broadest sense in rural South Africa". It then sets out its activities as follows:

Training programme for women's co-operatives, AIDS, skills training, e.g. research, marketing, management of co-operatives, and introduction to the computer; Production of audio-visual materials; creation of jobs of a productive nature by implementing our rural economic strategy.

With a small organisation – a director, administrative assistant, two accountants, and work done through co-operatives in rural areas using a contract system, the goals of this organisation are ambitious and it is likely to have difficulties in meeting them.

There are some organisations which have several goals and different training divisions to meet these. NICRO is such an organisation. Its various goals are all directed towards one aspect or other of the effects of deviancy. To achieve its aims, it has several different training divisions.

The majority of the organisations fall into the category of organisations with multi-faceted goals – 19 in all – carrying out different functions. For example, National Language Project (NLP) combines the following goals: democratic language facilities so ordinary people can have more say; access to jobs; to support teachers and trainers; to produce materials; and teach Xhosa to second language speakers.

From the above discussion, nothing has yet been said about the gendered focus of the organisations within the study. Indeed, when the aims are studied

in detail, it is obvious that only five organisations fall within this category directly, and a section of another organisation.

The Domestic Workers' Association recognises problems specific to its women members. The interviewee said:

Ons doen die werk oor die situasie van die vrou in Suid-Afrika, die arbeidssituasie en die veranderende struktuur van die familie – dinge moet ons nou saam doen ...

We do the work because of the situation of women in South Africa, the working conditions and the changing structure of the family – things which we now must do together ...

Black Sash, as already mentioned, has shifted its focus of interest to women's rights, but previously focused on the community at large. BDSC is specifically concerned with training Black women who wish to improve their status in the labour market. And the CWD's Delta Training is aimed at informing women of how to address their needs. Phambili focuses on women's health needs, paying particular attention to AIDS within the context of the specificity of women's sexuality and the dominance of men in these relationships, although this is not specifically obvious within its mission statement. Rape Crisis, as could be expected, is informed by a feminist view of sexual violence against women.

SAHSSO, which was formed in 1992 as a merger of various progressive organisations, all of which were concerned with "people's health and social services", is unique in some respects. It reflects the changing social conditions, and is one of the organisations highly conscious of directing its energies towards women because of the oppressive conditions in which they live. In an article on their launching, Sathiparsad (1992) said:

We in SAHSSO believe that health is a basic human right which should be available to all people irrespective of gender, race, colour, political belief, socio-economic status or sexual orientation. (1992, p.40-41)

To accommodate this, a three-part resolution was passed at the inaugural meeting which aimed:

1. To commit itself to non-sexism, both within the organisation and within broader society;
2. To promote and implement campaigns and programmes related to the health and social welfare of women; and
3. To commit itself to affirmative action at all levels of decision-making, especially in executive structures (*ibid.*, p.42).

This brief run-down of the aims of those organisations which specifically draw attention to women's needs span goals from primary health care to training for the labour market. The numbers are small, but this forms only part of the picture. The aims of the other organisations, while not specifically emphasising or drawing attention to women, do to a greater or lesser extent make provision for women through their activities. But it is their absence of recognition that women may have specific needs arising from their status as women that is important here. And the majority of organisations do not consider it necessary to draw attention to this.

Politically Oriented Organisations

Those politically oriented organisations with highly explicit aims, for example, DAG and ERIP, are simple to classify. But those whose political agenda is hidden may remain unidentified as such. This may be illustrated hypothetically.

Take literacy training. One cannot assume that all literacy organisations question the existing power structure. Literacy training could well be organised so as to convey dominant ideologies which are directed towards maintaining the status quo (Lyster, 1992), and others quite the contrary. The activities of such organisations would have to be carefully scrutinised in order to determine their hidden agenda and this is not always possible to do. Thus, the classification of organisations with an obvious political agenda is clear cut, but others may escape such a classification, highlighting the difficulties surrounding any classificatory scheme. There are, clearly, obvious difficulties in classifying organisations in accordance with a political agenda. Indeed only eight organisations have explicit aims of a political nature. DAG sets out its "desire for the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial, undivided and democratic society, free of economic and social exploitation" through, among other things, contributing towards "the elimination of all

forms of discrimination based on race, class or gender". Its aims and objectives are as follows:

- To assist communities and organisation who have similar principles to DAG, and who cannot afford professional services, to develop strategies to improve or transform the material conditions of the places in which they work and live;
- To assist in the empowerment of these communities and organisations; and
- To promote research, debate and education in planning and development relevant to the needs of the majority of the people.

But other organisations with multi-faceted aims, do not immediately appear to have an obvious political agenda.

The following chapter will demonstrate that many of the politically oriented COs *ipso facto* do not make provision for the specific needs of women. The causes for this are complex, and brief reference will be made to them in the following chapter. Suffice it to say that the community is assumed to be composed of an homogenous group of people. The power relations between men and women are never addressed.

Overall, given the complexity of the goals, some of which may be hidden, and the range of activities pursued, it is argued that it is unsatisfactory to classify COs in relation to their goals. Rather it is in the nature of the training provided that constitutes an adequate basis for classification.

Redefinition of Aims Through Changing Circumstances

It is not unusual for older organisations to have redefined their aims over the years to meet the changing conditions, as has happened with two organisations in the sample – NICRO and the Black Sash. NICRO, the oldest founded 80 years ago, was originally a welfare organisation concerned with criminals. Over the years, it has changed and now promotes the concept of social and criminal justice within a developmental framework. It is concerned with the root causes of crime. To this end its mission statement says that:

NICRO is committed to social and criminal justice. NICRO's service programme addresses the basic human need for personal safety and security by attending to:

- the need for people to avoid involvement with crime, either as perpetrators or as victims;
- the social and emotional needs of arrested persons, offenders and their families;
- the need for just, efficient and effective laws.

To achieve this it trains practising social workers, most of whom are women.

The Black Sash, a women-only organisation (although it has employed men in the past), was founded at the time of the exclusion of Coloured voters from the voters' roll, as a result of the packing of parliament. Initially, it was known as the Defence of the Constitution League and concerned with constitutional rights. Since its founding, it has undergone extensive changes, with a strongly based national membership responding to political conditions through an emphasis on broadly based human rights. It has a number of advisory offices, providing paralegal counselling services, ranging from the plight of domestic workers to rural workers' conditions. Although a women's organisation it has provided a service for men and women alike. At its National Conference in 1992, however, it was decided to concentrate on women's rights and has a section informed by gender issues.

FUNDING

The question of funding needs to be placed in context. The classification of South Africa as a Third World country is complicated by the fact that it has a basic infrastructure of primary and secondary industries characteristic of First World status. Concurrently, the poverty of the majority of the population, the high rate of unemployment, the absence of a universal education system, severe problems relating to land tenure, and the continuing subsistence economy among Africans, all contribute to Third World status. The debate about how to classify and analyse the economic state of the country continues.

Irrespective of this, it was world condemnation of the apartheid system, and the violent repressive state measures directed at all political opponents, including community organisations, that created the specific conditions whereby considerable donor aid entered the country.

Partly because of the dynamics of global popular support for the ANC-led campaign to isolate the

South African government, the 1980s saw European governments (and some other international donors) seeking to legitimise their funding for positive social change through credible and independent South African leaders and institutions. (Bonbright, 1992, p.2)

In all, Bonbright (1992) said that approximately R500 million was paid in by donor agencies during 1991.

Because of the repression in South Africa during the apartheid regime, and particularly during the 1980s, various legitimate subterfuges were developed to bring money into the country. As a result, it was not always possible to pinpoint the exact source of money. Several "clearing-houses" were established to channel overseas funding to organisations, hence people in organisations did not always know whether the money was from overseas government agencies or private donors. Much of the money that did come into the country was filtered through educational institutions, church-based organisations and independently based trusts.

The three best known, and largest, are the Kagiso Trust, the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC), and the South African Council of Churches (SACC), which collectively channelled R436-million from foreign sources in 1991 – mostly from the European Community, but also from Japan, church-related development agencies, private philanthropy, and anti-apartheid organisations. (Bonbright, 1992, p.3)

The anticipation of the democratisation process and the possibility of an ANC-led government is likely to have a major effect on donor agencies. Donor agencies will probably alter the basis on which money is granted, and issues relating to accountability and evaluation are likely to be of major importance. Community organisations are acutely aware of these changing conditions and recognise that the "honeymoon" period of support by foreign agencies will soon be over. The political agenda of funding is complex and it does not necessarily mean that only large, well established organisations will be funded. Smaller organisations whose political agenda is seen to be acceptable by donor agencies may well survive.

Whatever the situation, organisations will have to take stock of the huge amounts of State funds available for development work, particularly as the scramble for support is now highly competitive. According to Bonbright:

... by all accounts, the South African-sourced funding for development is at least as large as the foreign-derived component. There is no other foreign aid receiving country that I know of in Africa, Asia or Latin America that generates so much "development finance" internally. (1992, p. 1)

He estimated that South African funding for 1991 totalled R10,110 million. Further, there are 14 leading South African companies which founded a private sector initiative pledging R500 million over a five year period to a Joint Education Trust "which will concentrate on the gap between formal education and the job market". (p.2)

This gap between formal education and the job market relates to specific skills. The absence of a skilled labour force in South Africa, as discussed earlier, is likely to be high on the list of educational priorities. Given that the formal education system is unlikely to be able to redress this imbalance in the immediate future, it could be argued that AE would play an important role. It is likely that those organisations which concentrate on this area would stand a greater chance of being funded. It is interesting to note that none of the respondents in the study made specific reference to this.

This discussion on funding has not dealt with foreign funders' concern with gender issues. It is becoming apparent that as a direct result of pressure from feminist organisations in the First World, and their concern with development issues, that donor agencies have been alerted to the need to include directives about addressing gender-specific issues in the future. And there are strong indications that this is already happening in South Africa, but the effect of such guidelines is as yet unknown. Indeed, the researcher, Ms van Zyl recently reported that she has come across an instance in which the overseas funders are insisting on a gender programme being introduced. This type of specification may become more frequent and will have an impact on the programmes of the COs.

ORGANISATIONS' VIEWS ON FUNDING

The danger for organisations dependent on a single source of funding is evident. If that source dries up, and there is evidence of this happening, the life of the organisation is threatened. Further, the particular conditions surrounding organisations' funding during the 1980s resulted in some individuals or groups receiving funding, even though they had neither the infrastructure nor the experience to maintain the organisation. Also, it has been known that claims to be serving or representing the grass-roots have been unsubstantiated. Certain malpractices have existed, but these are likely to cease once subjected to more careful scrutiny by funders, and with ever-increasing competition for ever-shrinking resources.

Understandably, details on funding are sensitive and it was anticipated that such information would be difficult to obtain. However, the respondents spoke about this unhesitatingly and raised many issues.

Given the importance of overseas donors, it is not surprising that 17 organisations received funding from overseas, with six totally dependent on this source; one stating it was 90% dependent on overseas funds, and 11 receiving additional local funding to a greater or lesser extent. One organisation raised its own funds, viz. Black Sash, although it accepted donations in kind. Five organisations were supported internally, one— a rural organisation— a subsidiary of another organisation. These organisations also tended to raise funds from different sources. Three organisations did receive some State or parastatal assistance: NICRO which had an estimated 60% direct from the State received this for payment for social workers' salaries; and two organisations receive money from the Independent Development Trust, a parastatal funding organisation.

At a general level, concern was expressed that organisations are guided by what they think the funders would be prepared to support, rather than what the community needs are. There appears to be a common-sensical view that proposals are being tailor-made for the funders rather than being directed by what the organisation regards as the priority. Yet, contradictorily, there appears to be substantial agreement on areas where there is a need for funding. To overcome some of the difficulties experienced with funders, one respondent reported that their reports to the funders would mask those activi-

ties which they anticipated the funder would disapprove, and emphasise those activities which the particular funder thought important.

Many respondents were aware of the precarious state of their organisations' funding, and expressed their concern about the future. The rurally-based organisations felt particularly vulnerable for a variety of reasons, some of which will be apparent when training facilities are discussed. Fourteen organisations saw this as an issue in the future. They felt they would never gain independence and would still require funding. Four stated that they would have to provide their own financing. Seven said they would have to opt for a mixture of donations and raising their own funds. Only one organisation thought their work would be taken over by the State. One respondent engaged in the political sector said:

In terms of the long-term resource issue, we can't overcome that, but we try to pre-empt it in the future by making sure that para-legals do fit into a State welfare and legal services structure.

One interviewee criticised what he viewed as a type of dependency created by COs on donors. He said they were "being funded to death".

Some respondents working in small organisations suggested that their size and effectiveness was problematic in that they could be absorbed by more powerful organisations and lose their autonomy. This was said by two rural organisations and three urban organisations. One interviewee saw this as potentially positive as he thought smaller organisations did not have the necessary expertise and the work should be left to the bigger organisations.

Three respondents expressed their hostility towards university-based adult educationists, whom they claimed could exert unfair influence on the funders themselves. Thus, a university-based department with an administrative infrastructure was seen to be in a strong position to "cultivate contacts with funders and the new political elites". Several respondents suggested that the university could become the "patron" of a small project, reducing the chances of smaller organisations obtaining funding. One respondent expressed her antagonism towards universities in general and the funding that some departments or sections have received, particularly from overseas:

The funders find it convenient to work through the well-known institutions, and the university people have always been the gatekeepers and organisers for funders because they've got the money.

One criticised the funders in a similar vein:

As more and more funders come into the country they're lazy they're here only for a few days, and use the university networks to find out who's doing what, and don't inform themselves from the ground up. A whole level of middle management people who have never worked with the grassroots are suddenly calling the shots about who's doing "good" work - a system of nepotism where a whole lot of pet people are in need of jobs.

A few respondents complained that the universities are associated with what is seen as a removal from the real conditions, and such departments and their staff are regarded as being incapable of understanding the needs of people. As one respondent put it:

There is a bizarre sense that we get from academics etc. who are not involved at the grassroots level - they are so extremely idealistic and unrealistic about the real limitations on people's lives.

The expression of antagonism by some grassroots workers towards university based adult educationists reflects a view which is prevalent in South Africa today, viz. an anti-intellectual stance.

Two interviewees had criticisms of COs on the basis of positioning themselves in middle management co-ordinating roles.

My probleem met hierdie mense is dat hulle voorgee dat hulle iets is wat hulle nie is nie. Hulle gebruik klein projekte op die platteland om geld te kry sodat hulle hulle eie infrastruktuur aan die gang kan hou ... salarisse, telefone en kantore in die stad ... Hulle is veronderstel om opleiding te doen, maar hulle het self opleiding nodig.

My problem with these people is that they pretend to be something which they are not. They

use small projects in the rural areas to get money so that they can keep their own infrastructure operating ... salaries, telephones and offices in the city ... They are supposed to be doing training, but they themselves need training.

Several mentioned the effect that funding had on their work. "The lack of resources in the organisation" had an adverse effect, according to one respondent. Someone else linked problems of funding with the overwhelming and seemingly-never ending social problems.

I just get a bit disheartened to think that there is so much to do, and it doesn't seem like the social conditions are getting any better or favourable for all of this to happen, especially with the funding.

A number of statements above reflect the present-day confusions, contradictions and controversies operating within the field of education, whether NFE or formal. But one respondent who is engaged in training schemes for the labour market struck a far more positive note when he saw market forces entering into the arena of fund raising. He said that he could foresee his "organisation selling its services to business and the State. A number of innovative actions were already taking place". Triple Trust, in its newsletter dated May 1993, said that although there were times when salaries of employed staff were almost not paid, they are considering ways of becoming financially independent.

We have consequently taken very seriously the advice of consultants, funders and our board, who have encouraged us to make our expertise and experience in training and development work for us.

They have a number of products they could sell, including their own expertise, and in addition they aim to make the trading division become self-sufficient.

Such pro-active developments are obviously restricted to a small number of organisations which are in a position to exploit the market and become financially independent. Unfortunately there are many who service the community and derive no income from their activities.

Again it is obvious that focus on gender inequalities has not been on the list of priorities of funding criteria.

MANAGEMENT OF ORGANISATIONS AND HOW POLICIES ARE DERIVED

Given the political climate in which many COs were established, it could be anticipated that many organisations would stress a democratic form of management and policy formulation. However, "organisational strategies do not 'belong' to any particular political tendency" as Walters argued (1991, p.354), and she concluded by saying that:

Participatory democracy has been central to the practices within a set of community organisations at a particular historical juncture in Cape Town. The forms that the practices have taken have revealed ongoing contestation over meaning. Certain contradictions, which were apparent within the participatory democratic practices, have highlighted the ongoing daily 'struggles for democracy' which are taking place within community organisations. (*ibid* p. 359)

During the time of repression, for security reasons, many organisations deliberately operated in a haphazard way, and minutes of meetings and so on were not recorded. However, since the unbanning of political organisations, many COs have been forced to become more systematic in their operation because funders now require visible accountability structures. This has led to more formalisation of control and responsibility, possibly accounting for what the study revealed as more hierarchical structures than existed at the height of repressive measures, even though organisations may be informed by an ideology of democratic participation.

Respondents were asked how policy was decided. At the time this question was formulated, it was thought that in some cases the policy could be directly influenced by the funders themselves, but no evidence appears to back this up.

In 15 organisations the executive or board of trustees, or in one case both groups determined policy. In seven organisations the staff determined policy; the membership controlled policy in three organisations; and one combined both staff and membership. In two cases, the form of decision

making was not clear. Perhaps this says more about the nature of management and the ideologies surrounding it, than the control exerted by funders.

There was no direct evidence of the nature of decision making in organisations being affected by overseas funding. For example, Rape Crisis, which relies heavily on overseas funding, operated without an executive or trustee management structure.

Not surprisingly some respondents were critical of policy making in their organisations, and this is captured in the following statement:

People who are making policy are ill-equipped to do it; they rarely have any experience in the field.

It could be anticipated that rank and file members of an organisation are likely to be critical of management decisions and policies, unless the organisation is run on a highly democratic basis in which all participate in the decision-making process.

ETHNIC AND GENDER COMPOSITION OF STAFF MANAGEMENT

The gender composition and the ethnic composition of management of COs are significant in South Africa, because of institutionalised sexism and institutionalised racism. Furthermore, the role of women in management could, though not always does, have an impact on the way in which organisations address gender issues.

In popular terms, it has been assumed that there are more women than men employed in COs. However, the data on staff management shows that men outweigh women - 31 men to 26 women; among women managers, White women dominate, and among men, Coloured men dominate.

MANAGEMENT

	Women	Men
African	6	1
Coloured	3	22
White	17	8

The researcher had been told by several respondents that there has been a trend of men moving in and taking over from women. Some respondents suggested that Coloured and African men were moving

into higher posts where previously few worked in this area. And as one woman said, women who previously stood up for their rights were now being ousted. They were defined as "wild" women.

Black men are moving into the newly-created powerful positions and 'tame' black women are replacing the 'wild' white women. White women are more inclined to stand up to the men, and they obviously don't like it.

When the researcher suggested to some other White women that this was happening, there was some agreement. One respondent viewed this in terms of sexism and not in terms of affirmative action.

That's a 'spot-on' analysis, and shows how strong the patriarchy is. When the war is over, women have to make place for men.

It would be interesting to see whether the change in gender distribution constitutes a trend, and, if so, what impact it would have on women's status and position within the COs.

ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

Among the administrators, Coloured women are in the majority. This corresponds to the employment profile discussed earlier, in which attention was drawn to the move by Coloured women into clerical and administrative work.

ADMINISTRATION

	Women	Men
African	7	-
Coloured	19	3
White	3	2

A few White women complained that they were saddled with the responsibility of making sure the work continued, in spite of losing their positions to people who were not equipped to do it, thus criticising affirmative action.

As restructuring has taken place, it may well be that the gender division of labour within organisations is reasserting itself. At the height of the repressive period, when progressive sentiments were expressed, everyone was expected to do her or his own administrative work. It would seem that in

spite of a hierarchical structure, everybody "mucked-in together". Perhaps with the influx of men into positions of authority, and a reduction in the tensions generated by political struggle, the traditional gender divisions between administration, management, fieldwork and resource production may be reappearing. It now seems that, in some instances, Black men are moving into co-ordinating positions previously held by women, but with the gendered back-up of receptionists, secretaries etc. Finally, it would appear that Black gendered hierarchies are replacing the structures that have been occupied by many White women. A few White women complained that their field jobs were now going to African women, and it would seem that affirmative action is affecting them negatively. This reflects part of the anxiety that is present among CO workers, and is by no means restricted to affirmative action practices.

What constitutes affirmative action is a contentious and complex subject. A simple and straightforward definition of affirmative action was given at a conference held in 1991 (sponsored by the ANC among others), by Prof. L. C. Clark:

Affirmative action can be defined as reliance on race-conscious remedies, often of a numerical character, designed to achieve racial integration of a work force in a measurable time and at a defined pace. One rationale for affirmative action was that it would, unlike a simple order prohibiting discrimination, prospectively strike at the hidden and manifold forms of institutional discrimination. (1991, p.4)

Clark raises a number of problems that have been encountered in the USA but concludes that affirmative action has benefitted Blacks and women in the country. One could argue that his data is far from conclusive and would have to include a breakdown of different classes of people who have benefited. It might well be that middle class Blacks, and middle class women as a whole have benefited, but it is by no means clear that such benefits have accrued to the working class. A report in the *Cape Times* (7.9.1993) was headed "Search for Black Execs" and discussed the shortage of suitably qualified people. The last paragraph, however, reported that:

Regional ANC chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, has come out against affirmative action where it gave preference to employing Xhosa-speakers ahead of Coloureds in the Western Cape. He had been inundated with complaints about the practice.

This is clearly one of the difficulties associated with affirmative action. It is not only White women who feel threatened.

Maphai (1989), in considering affirmative action in South Africa, points to the complexity of this. He says that:

... affirmative action must, in essence, involve minimal qualifications on the part of the black candidate; and the technical qualifications of such a black person must either be equal to, or less than those of a white person. An unqualified person is not a subject of affirmative action. (1989, p.2)

In other words, employment should not be given to people who are unqualified for the job. Yet at the end of the article he points to the problem of what constitutes qualification and the worry expressed by people of falling standards. He points out, correctly, that the notion of qualifications involves social definitions and comes to the final conclusion:

... perhaps if the available pool of genuinely qualified Blacks were put to good use, and equal opportunities opened for all, then there might even be no need for affirmative action. There will surely be Blacks who share the common perception regarding urgent need of their participation. Nevertheless, they might be unwilling to enter the race with a patronized head start. They might opt for the long and arduous, but ultimately fulfilling and effective route of fair equality of opportunity. They might fear that while affirmative action enhances a person's public and social image, it could easily impair his self-image. On the other hand, others might not find this feature particularly bothersome. They may be prepared to live with the psychological weight (which may sometimes be mitigated by the genuine self-affirmation of knowing one is doing a job well). This attitude too has been shown to carry costs. (ibid, p. 23)

What neither Maphai nor Clark addressed was how class position mediated affirmative action. It would appear that the beneficiaries of affirmative action programmes tend, in the main, to be middle class or an elite section of the working class. The "Search for Black Execs" referred to above is a case in point.

Finally, whatever view one takes, affirmative action encompasses a set of problems for all the actors, and it is interesting that some of the White women in the COs are expressing negative views about affirmative action in their organisations. It may well be that women (and in this case it is White women) will not benefit from affirmative action.

EVALUATION

Evaluation of a community organisation is obviously an important part of its on-going viability, but how this is done is problematic, for a number of reasons. Walters (1987) pointed out that the form accountability takes varies in accordance with particular social contexts. They may be contractual, and this is applicable particularly to donor agencies operating outside the country. They may be of a professional order which could be inextricably linked to the contractual order. And finally, they may be of a moral/religious or political order. Accountability associated with politics dominated the South African community organisations particularly because of the link of so many of the organisations to the democratic process and the political anti-State stance that was taken.

For donor agencies, accountability needs to take into consideration a number of different factors. These include the use made of the funds for the projects, questions of honesty, and whether the funds were utilised for the specified project. The assessment of the final output, whatever that may be, and whether it has contributed to overall improvement of quality of life have to be considered, although these latter two are difficult to identify.

There would seem to be an ever-increasing emphasis and, indeed, prioritising of evaluations by the multilateral funding agencies. This takes the form of a quantitative evaluation. Cost-effectiveness can be judged against concrete criteria, unlike, say, evaluation of literacy programmes which can never be fully evaluated because there is no measurable, concrete product at the end of a programme

on literacy. Although the emphasis is on external funding agencies, there is no reason to assume that similar criteria will not apply to local funding.

It has become clear that accountability of an evaluative nature is likely to be of ever greater importance, following the decisions made in the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, known as the Jomtien Conference. This conference spelt out its priorities: universal education for children and ameliorative steps for adults. Furthermore, the World Bank is now emphasising capacity building which relates directly to income generating work and productivity within the country. The indicators are there for adult educationists on what form of training is likely to be considered favourably by funders in the future. Given this world view, COs will be hard pressed to get funding unless they conform to the goals set by funders.

To what extent the intricacies of evaluation are fully recognised by adult educationists in South Africa is difficult to assess. The problems surrounding evaluation have altered significantly with the political changes following 1990. While organisations probably did evaluate their work, their accountability to the funding agencies may not have been an essential or rigorous feature of their continuing support.

It has not been possible to establish adequately the nature of the evaluation carried out by the organisations. This would require a far more detailed enquiry than was possible to undertake. Apart from two organisations, where the respondents did not know whether any evaluation was conducted, all the others reported that they had some form of evaluation. Six organisations have annual reviews, two have annual as well as have half yearly ones, six evaluate their work half yearly, six do it quarterly, one has a major review every three years in addition to half yearly reviews, one every second year, one every five years, and two have weekly meetings. Evaluation is taken seriously and one organisation employed outside professionals to do the assessment.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, it is very difficult to compare the organisations with one another as they are so diverse. The variation in size, in terms of the number of people they reach, and the number of paid or

volunteer workers, makes comparison difficult. As could be anticipated, the aims of the organisations are broad, and of a general nature, mirroring the work of COs which attempt to provide services which the State does not make available. The work is directed towards the community, which is often taken as undifferentiated and homogeneous, and bound by needs which are generated by and characteristic of Third World countries. Sometimes the social problems are so overwhelming that the general aims have to be temporarily suspended. For example, at the height of the drought in one of the areas, one organisation suspended its training and dealt, instead, with the consequences of the drought.

The multi-faceted nature of the goals of many of the organisations might well prove inefficient in the long run – too many goals and too few resources.

Organisations in rural areas felt particularly vulnerable and welcomed the thought of working together more collaboratively with the larger, more established organisations. Indeed one of them already does this.

The viability of the continuing operation of some of the organisations is clearly in doubt, although the size of the organisation is not directly related to this. Funding is clearly one of the most crucial problems and future funding is tied in with a number of different issues – the agenda of the funding bodies, resources within the organisation itself, both human and technical, effective management of the organisation, and so on. Many were in the process of restructuring during the time that the interviews were conducted, reflecting the changing conditions of the country as a whole, on the one level, and the instability of some of the organisations on another level.

The organisations in the study, for the most part, do not address the issues of sexism and racism which operate within their own establishments. There appears to be little formal recognition of these problems, although they may be dealt with in the course of every day management. These problems reflect the complex social structure of South Africa and the aftermath of more than 40 years of State repression, institutionalised racism, and overall sexism which cross all social boundaries – class as well as ethnic.

It was not possible to evaluate the organisations in the study, although respondents did give informa-

tion on whether evaluations were conducted. What constituted the evaluations differed from organisation to organisation, but how they met the specific needs of the community they set out to serve, and how successful this was, could not be assessed. Full comparative evaluations would require a study within its own right.

I now want to consider how the organisations in the study dealt with gender inequalities. The rhetoric, particularly among the more overt politically aware COs, has in recent years made reference to gender inequalities and the need to address these. Ms van Zyl, the researcher, found during the initial telephonic contacts that many of the trainers acknowledged the need for doing precisely this. However, this concern was neither reflected in the overall aims of their organisations, nor, more often than not, in their training provisions. This is not to say that the COs did not make provision for women, but rather that this provision was not located within the framework of an understanding of what constitutes gender subordination. There were also instances where the organisation specifically set out to address sexism, but did not know how to do so. For example, one of the organisations, whose "principles of establishment" specifically included eliminating gender discrimination, did not have any training which attempted to achieve this. Our informant said that it is not that people in the organisation are unconcerned, but rather that they do not know how to operationalise such goals. To this end, then, there appears to be a need to educate organisations about the extent, range and causal factors relating to gender inequalities and, perhaps, even indicating methods of how to address them. This inability to address the inequalities is not surprising given the focus of COs on broader issues of inequality within the context of apartheid and liberation struggle.

It could be anticipated, and indeed it will be shown to be the case, that training by COs geared specifically towards women, addresses a range of practical needs, ranging from primary health care to skilling for the labour market. Of the 28 organisations, only five organisations and one project within a sixth organisation explicitly adopted a gender agenda.

Most of the other organisations, as the following chapter will demonstrate, do provide facilities for women, but this is carried out without a clear recog-

nition of the specificity of women's problems generated through their subordination. The needs, rather, are related to the community's poverty. Because the work of COs is pointed towards alleviating the poverty, directly or indirectly, their clients are mostly women who are the managers of the household finances, and responsible for the care of the family. The COs' work ranges from primary health care to training for work in the white collar sector of the labour market. Details of this will be presented in the following chapter. A gendered analysis of the needs is not made by organisations, and the unintended consequences of this is likely to

be a reinforcing of what constitutes women's traditional roles. The causes for the continuation of women's problems which reside in discriminatory practices against them are not tackled, because they do not constitute part of the agenda of the COs.

Finally, as discussed above, gendered power relations within organisation structures are ever present. Unfortunately, this question is likely to be sidelined in the course of addressing what appears to be a more urgent issue – one of racism.

Clearly a great deal of work needs to be conducted among COs if gender issues are to be included in the agenda of these organisations.

TRAINING PROVISION BY ORGANISATIONS

It is the training provided by the COs which constitutes the nub of this study. The training which is done by COs is wide ranging and the data below will follow the classification as set out in Chapter 2. It must be emphasised that what follows is not taken as fully representative of all the training provided by COs in the Western Cape. The range of organisations is wider than this study indicates. For example, there are organisations which provide some form of training, but did not qualify for inclusion on the basis of the criteria, such as the Khayelitsha Garden Centre (Abalimi Bezekhaya Isente ye Gadi Yabantu). It provides seeds, plants etc. as well as training courses on gardening and "greening" in order to encourage people to grow vegetables and improve the appearance of their small plots. Then there are many more organisations providing primary health care than would appear the case according to our study which only refers to the work of four organisations. For example, the Progressive Primary Health Care Network is a national organisation with an office in Athlone. This CO provides extensive primary health care work. Among other things, it runs a number of individual centres, such as Philani, which is a nutrition centre with a wide range of activities including

feeding malnourished children and providing training. PPHCN also runs a centre in Guguletu which trains health workers elected by their various communities from different areas for periods of eight weeks. This centre has a staff of six, of whom three are trainers, one is an educator, and two are specialist health workers. Their omission was due to the sampling procedures and the pressure of time in which interviews could be conducted.

Thus, while the limitations of the study are recognised, it is maintained that the following data does present a fair profile of the range of training provided by COs in the Western Cape. In spite of the small number reported on, there is sufficient data from which certain recommendations can be drawn.

All the organisations in the study not only train their clients, but, apart from three, train their own members of staff. This section will, therefore, be divided into two: the first will examine the training for members of the community, and the second the training of trainers. It was found, in several instances, that courses were not running at the time of the interview, although they had operated in the past or were scheduled to be developed in the future. There is a sense of these COs being at the threshold of future development or slow collapse.

PART I

TRAINING PROVISION FOR MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

Many of the organisations have dual or multiple sets of activities, and provide several different types of training. Some of this are designed specifically for women. In other cases, even though women may constitute the major constituency, the training does not recognise this fact.

The multi-faceted nature of activities provided by COs is common and gives rise to what has been called a "mixed grill". This plurality of activities creates difficulties in making a neat classification of the organisations, and assessing and evaluating the work. Furthermore, this study does not necessarily have full details of the range of work carried out by each of the organisations in the sample. The data available has been derived from the trainers interviewed and the work on which they could report. The extent of the range of activities in any one organisation may not, therefore, be reflected. The great variety of demands, geographic areas, types of training and different trainees is reflected in the different contexts in which training takes place.

Our definition of "training" for inclusion in the sample of COs included workshops with three or more consecutive sessions and courses of varying lengths (e.g. Delta Training Project was running courses for three days and BSDC for four-and-a-half months). Workshops, led by facilitators, tend to be participatory. Courses, on the other hand, are led by an individual instructor who is concerned with the transmission of some form of knowledge. Workshops proved to be the most popular form of training, combined with course work. Seven provided only workshops, seven ran courses only, and 13 provided both. One organisation carried out its training mainly on the shop floor.

This section will first consider the nature of the training, according to the classification set out in Chapter 2. This will be followed by data on the organisational elements relating to this provision, including the support system for women, venue,

costs of training, modes of recruitment, language used in training, how programmes are devised and, finally, certification. Rural organisations experience additional problems to those of the city-based organisations, and these difficulties will be discussed at the end of this section.

TRAINING PROVISION

Survival strategies

This relates to NFE which assists people, particularly in urban environments to survive the harsh conditions in which they live. These may include literacy, primary health care and some life skills. For some trainers there is a sense of being overwhelmed by the extent of the problems the members in the community face, and this is reflected in the following words of one of the trainers:

One is to look at how we can educate and empower these women ... But how – that is why my emphasis on the training is survival skills – how do you deal with problems out there when you are alone?

1. Literacy Programme

Functional literacy contributes to survival strategies. But it may also open the way to the labour market in that it may be a prerequisite for employment, although it is not regarded as a necessary skill for the labour market. Literacy could enhance employment prospects, for example, among domestic workers. Literacy needs override gender differences, although the texts that are used are important. The content could, in terms of the hidden curriculum, covertly support women's traditional roles, but this study did not investigate the content of what was being taught in the literacy classes. Suffice it to say that in the course of conducting some preliminary interviews prior to the research being carried out, one organiser involved in literacy work said that she and her trainers were concerned

with women's double burden, and the literacy campaign enabled them to confront some of the problems they encountered. But she did not say in what way, nor whether there was any way of evaluating the work this organisation was doing, particularly among rural women, where the classes were seen to be "more than reading and writing. It is a weapon against exploitation and oppression". In such a case it would have to be established whether people emerged from such training functionally literate.

Two organisations in the study did provide literacy training, although the nature of the training differed.

Use Speak Write English (USWE) aims "to help adult workers with little or no formal school gain more control over their lives by learning basic English and allied skills, including those that will promote effective participation in a democratic society". To this end they have a range of activities which include research and development. Their training is geared towards trainers and is "to train facilitators in participatory methods of teaching and provide them with the skills for teaching English literacy". This clearly is an attempt to move literacy training out of the sphere of the amateur and invest the trainers with specific skills deemed necessary for training.

Montagu en Ashton Gemeenskapdiens (MAG), a rural organisation, among other things, runs an adult literacy programme for Coloureds, of whom 70% are women. But how successful this work is is not possible to say. What is important to note is that it is just one of the activities that the organisation provides. With limited resources, the cost effectiveness of such training needs, perhaps, to be assessed.

2. Primary Health Care

Four organisations were involved in primary health care.

Phambili works with small numbers of rural middle-age African women, and provides education on health issues. This is done mostly on request, and devised to meet the demands of the community. AIDS education was a high priority during the period of the research and the trainer referred to the difficulties of raising questions on sexuality, particularly with young people. As for training, they began with distance learning, with health workers teaching them about problems women face. It was a question of raising the health workers' conscious-

ness about these issues. But they have now moved into providing a core module which takes the form of a demonstration more than a course. The trainer spoke in very general terms, saying that unless you make women aware of violence they won't understand what is happening. Once the health workers were trained they worked among the community in a voluntary capacity, but were anticipating getting contracts and being paid. The respondent said that about 730 women, and only four men had been trained since the beginning of 1991. The content of the training is not known.

Montagu en Ashton Gemeenskapdiens (MAG) provides similar health-oriented programmes for predominantly Afrikaans-speaking, Coloured rural women.

SAHSSO runs workshops on various aspects of primary health work.

Primary health care work is faced with enormous problems, and their activities range from feeding the malnourished children to tackling the overwhelming problem of AIDS. On the basis of what Phambili is doing, there appears to be a strong need for concentrated training of health workers and provisions for them to be employed in urban and rural communities. Given the type of problems they encounter, it would also make sense for such organisations to be able to link up with media training COs which could produce the type of material that is needed. On the basis of the few interviews in this section, one gets the impression of people creating new training programmes, where perhaps facilities already exist and can be drawn upon. This raises the question of the extent of co-operation and networking – an issue which is ever present.

3. Life Skill

As pointed out in Chapter 2 what comprises life skills' training is vast and covers a range of activities, some of which border on the political. This category is an arbitrary one, as will be seen from the description which follows. Life skills' work differs from the others in that it has no direct connection with the labour market. It does not train people in specific skills, but rather equips them to deal with one or other aspects of their lives.

World Vision, which responds to needs in a community, has an aim "to facilitate, and empower communities" and views dependency as an outcome of funding a section of a community. Their aim is to

overcome dependency. To this end, they try to develop leadership qualities which include managing projects, and basic bookkeeping for members of the community affected. This is done through a range of workshops. If World Vision is unable to provide the required training, then the expertise of others more qualified is called upon. It is for this reason that they maintain a network.

NICRO has a training section which runs workshops on domestic violence, and in the course of this introduces work on gender differences, authority, and conflict in the family. They train police and other trainers.

Rape Crisis provides counselling services for people who have been sexually abused, whether as adults or children, and people who have been forced into incestuous relations. To this end, they train counsellors to deal with the work.

NAMREC (Namaqualand Resource and Education Centre) which has close links with Careers Research and Information Centre (CRIC) works with youth and is concerned with self development, technical training and provides some classes in computer literacy. This organisation works exclusively with Coloured youth. The inclusion of NAMREC in this section is because of its training in self-confidence.

Karoo Resource Centre claims to reach thousands of youths, of whom 40% are African. Their programme includes putting students in work experience programmes, running workshops on self-awareness and building self-confidence. They provide careers information, have some bursaries, and give advice and help the youth to apply for jobs. They also organise seminars for the youth in the community, so that they can "acknowledge their own strength, and build confidence". They aim to get a whole range of youth forums operating in different *platteland* towns, and hope to set up resource centres in the future. This is another example of an organisation which provides not only life skills training but includes other work – career guidance etc.

Black Sash has a training division, and one of the aims of this section is to assess what constitutes women's needs, and then prioritise these, co-ordinate what training is offered, and evaluate the provision. The training, particularly in the rural areas, is aimed at getting "people to take responsibility for their own processes, discourage dependency, and

upgrade people's efficiency". There was an emphasis, according to the trainer responsible for this work, to work in rural areas, particularly as provisions there are scant, and to focus on women in particular. The trainer said:

The organisation feels that it is important to educate women in particular – and in particular rural and illiterate people. Black Sash has a particular focus and understanding of ... marginalised people.

Exactly how they would achieve these goals was not clear and the trainer was involved in devising programmes at that time.

Delta Training Programme of CWD is concerned with building individual's confidence and skills with a view to having these transferred to other groups in the community – local civic groups, parish councils etc. The work undertaken during the year of the study was experimental, in which short courses of three days' duration were run mostly in the southern Cape. People were recruited through local organisations and, although there was a move to focus on women and the development of women's leadership, men were included in the programme. Indeed, the ratio of men to women was roughly 60:40. They hoped to get teams of people – at least two from each organisation – to get a programme set up in the community. The content of the work was derived from the experience of the training co-ordinator who had worked extensively in Kenya and had found that some programmes were highly successful in generating enormous energy among people in the community. She cited an example of 500 projects, with only 40 paid workers involved; there the bulk of the work being done was conducted by volunteer members of the communities themselves. The work of DELTA was constantly assessed, and plans existed for extending the nature of the training to women-only workshops, which would run over a period of four months, with people being given leave to attend one day a week.

Montagu en Ashton Gemeenskapdiens (MAG), whose work has already been discussed above, is a clear-cut example of a multi-purpose organisation. The trainer said it had cut down in "the last while" in training other organisations, and was concentrating on training programmes in its area, one of the training sessions being on tertiary education and

study support groups. For this reason, it has been placed in this section. Training in life skills remains somewhat unclear, and this largely because the goals are quite wide and, at the same time, may be ill defined.

Conclusions

To conclude this section, it is obvious that in order to address how women's needs are being met would require a detailed, in-depth study. The needs in various areas, as among squatter communities, are so complex and vast, that members within an organisation may feel daunted, particularly if the organisation is not equipped to deal with all the problems that arise.

Where do you begin in a squatter community? We only address a very small section of their lives – what about all the other sections of their lives like health and things like that? We only talk about housing and land, but education, health, none of that comes into play. To increase capacity, one needs a more holistic approach. We do not ourselves have the capacity to do that.

Where literacy classes were provided in one particular rural area, far more women attended than men, although the reasons for this were not established. Literacy provision is not exclusively for women, although some of their specific needs may be taken into account.

Primary health care is directed almost exclusively towards women, apart from AIDS education. Women are perceived as the crucial link in the development of a healthy life cycle of a population. This raises an interesting question about the assumption of the role of women in carrying the responsibility for the health of the community. It is obvious that, in the course of their domestic roles, women do have the major responsibility. But in accepting this, men are absolved from either understanding or being actively involved in such issues, a phenomenon which COs could perhaps consider in the future. This is of particular relevance to those COs engaged in providing "life skills" or those which engage with the community in political matters. The primary health care of a population should be the concern of the community as a whole, and recognition given to the role that women play in this regard. The extent to which these facilities

reinforced women's traditional role is not known and, like the literacy classes, would require an in-depth study.

Life skills is an interesting category. While much of this work may previously have been classified as political, it clearly requires redefinition in the light of the training provided. Many of the organisations concentrate on developing levels of confidence among their trainees – "empowering" individuals – and in the course of this, hoping that the community in which they live will benefit from the training. Life skills training is, apart from the section of NICRO and Delta, directed towards men and women alike. Given that this training is far removed from the labour market and skilling of one sort or another, it is a sector of NFE which perhaps will be the most threatened in the future. It is interesting to note that four of the six organisations are involved in addressing specific needs of women; the other two provide training of a more general nature which is applicable to both men and women.

Skilling for the informal sector

The type of training that fits into this category provides forms of training which correspond quite definitely to gender type occupations, but can be turned into income-generating activities carried out on an individual basis. For women, the training is in sewing, leather work, crocheting, spinning wool and even butchery. For men, the type of training tends to be limited, and as the director of Triple Trust said, every time they design courses for men, the women take over. But men, for example, do attend training to do leather work. Other training is in terms of equipping individuals to run their own businesses.

Western Province Training Association (WPTA) claims that 12% of their trainees are women and this is for sewing classes. (Note: the training they provide for men is reported on p.51 below).

CBS (Community Business Skills) section of CWD, trains small groups of African women and men on how to run businesses in the informal sector. Among other things, they teach them basic book-keeping, how to conduct feasibility studies, and so on. Here, the projects they have undertaken are varied – from brick making to recharging batteries. In these instances, the idea is that the trainees, through a small loan, are able to set up their own business within the township and become financial-

ly independent. The training periods in these instances are short and specifically directed towards the unemployed people living in the townships. The businesses may be run by an individual or several people working co-operatively.

Triple Trust provides training particularly for women, in sewing, leather work, knitting. Unlike many other organisations providing similar type training, Triple Trust is a highly professional organisation which aims to "create new income generating opportunities directly" among unemployed people and enhance already existing skills through a number of processes. In the period since its founding in 1988, Triple Trust had, by May 1993, trained 3 510 people and estimates a 30-40% success rate. Its goal is to train at least 1 000 people annually and this is carried out at 19 training centres. Each year they expand the number of centres. A further eight or nine will be opened in 1994. Each centre runs six courses every two months, with 12 people per course. Perhaps where their activities differ from others is in terms of their extended organisational base. It begins with selection procedures for new trainees who undergo eight weeks' training. This includes the skills in the particular work – leather work (50% are men), sewing, including soft toys (5% are men), and knitting (no men), butchery (50% men), and basic business skills. The second stage is the financing of the trainee to purchase capital equipment (non electrically operated) through a loan not exceeding R2 000. A marketing section has several sections: one in which products can be bought back from producers; one which considers development, which includes designing specific products for sale to identified markets, viz. community, First World retail outlets, corporate and international, etc.; and finally, equipping producers to market their products independently. More recently, the organisation has added a new section. It is one of "mentoring", which provides ongoing support for emerging enterprises. The mentors link with volunteer consultants.

WPTC says that it has held classes for women on sewing. Where other organisations offer training – usually in dress making – there does not appear to be the same follow up as provided by Triple Trust. The latter is concerned with making the individual trainee self-sufficient. Others may provide the training, which probably concentrates on dressmaking (e.g. WPTA), but do not assist with the purchasing

of capital equipment, such as a sewing machine, or marketing. This must make a significant difference to the development of income-generating work.

Conclusions

It is interesting to note that, within the informal sector, training for income-generating work appears to be most successful with women as demonstrated by Triple Trust. This training which is located in what is seen as traditional women's work – viz. sewing and craft work – is geared towards sales in the community as well as outside in the commercial world. The high level of organisation by Triple Trust through its marketing and follow-up work must contribute in no small way to its success. CWD's provision is for the development of small businesses which are not necessarily based on individual work, and operates for both women and men. At the time of writing, their field workers are engaged in developing small business projects which women will run – a hairdressing business and the production of household linen. Given the size of the informal labour market this is obviously an area in which further developments can take place, particularly for women.

However, a note of caution about the success of ordinary dressmaking training in particular should be noted. Wentzel argues that:

The Black townships are fertile ground for the mushrooming of sewing courses (3-4-6 weeks in duration) which target unemployed, marginalised women as their constituency. I can think of at least eleven such initiatives at very short notice. One of these trains over 160 trainees a year. These training courses are presented as development initiatives which aim to promote job creation of the self-help variety. The following questions must arise ...

- (i) What is the status of the employment creation claims of such ventures
- (ii) Do these initiatives unwittingly not reinforce marginalisation in an invisible cul de sac?
- (iii) Why train women in such skills when thousands of operators who have had years of industrial experience are rendered jobless in the formal sector annually? [Earlier in the paper he said that the job loss among Coloured women is estimated at 500 a month in 1992 for the first six months, and 800 per month for the first three months of 1993].

- (iv) What type of market niches are likely to be open to informal sector clothing manufacturers? (Wentzel, 1993, p. 6)

Skilling for the informal sector is particularly interesting in so far as much of this work is directed towards income-generating activities for women who could operate their small businesses from their own homes, thus reducing the problems of child care. Of course, this does not take account of the problem women may face in having to carry out their income-generating activities while at the same time having their children around them. The burden of combining their domestic role with that of generating an income must not be overlooked. It is no easy task, particularly when there are young children who may be quite demanding.

Where training is available to men, it is more likely to involve business development outside of the home. Men, at the moment, do not pursue income-generating activities which involve socially defined, typically feminine tasks such as dressmaking, sewing soft toys etc.

Overall, given that a way of bringing in some income is what concerns people living in poverty, it would seem clear that a great deal of work needs to be done in relation to skilling income for generating projects.

Skilling for the formal labour market

1. Skilling Unemployed Workers

The phrase "skilling unemployed workers" implies provisions for a group of people who have already been employed in the formal labour market. However, given the very high rate of unemployment such training as is available may also be directed towards people who have never had a job in the formal labour market. The following data suggests that this type of training is directed towards training of a labour intensive nature, and very much for a male labour force. Where courses do exist, their titles tend towards an aggrandisement, creating the impression that the courses are for skilled work. Course titles such as "engineering" are not of a skilled level and often refer to such work as laying of pipes, brick making and so on.

Western Province Training Association (WPTA) plans to provide, in the future, training for unemployed African men, in the main in welding, brick making, mechanics and building. The trainer did

not detail the length of time such training would require, but acknowledged the great pressure from unemployed people to have speedy training that would enable them to enter the labour market. In regard to this type of training, the trainer reported that one of their ideas is to contract work for the council, say, and then utilise unemployed men who could be trained on the job.

The question remains as to how successful such training would be. To answer such a question will require a follow-up of the people who have been or will be trained, and how they fit into the informal or formal sector.

2. Upgrading

Domestic Workers' Association (DWA) runs training for 700 women domestic workers, 80% of whom are Afrikaans-speaking Coloured women living in urban areas. They say they provide a range of short courses including sewing, cooking, training on childcare and ageing, all of which they see as "professional" training. This represents an attempt to upgrade domestic workers' level of skill and qualification.

Business Skills Development Company (BSDC), provides business courses which run for four-and-a-half months full time, and nine months part time. The former is women-only, while the latter includes a few men. The course includes training in English, aimed specifically at Black women. In the five years in which it has operated, it has had 146 graduates, with more than 80% in full-time employment. BSDC is funded by local private businesses, and as the Chairman's 5th Anniversary Report says:

Given the history of the region, Black women (especially matriculants) lacked exposure to business and were trapped by legislation in a situation where their prospects of advancement were limited ... (and) ... resulted in many ... earning their living as kitchen hands and domestic servants.

Community Education Computer Society (CECS), another organisation with different types of training, not only computer, included training for returning exiles. It has 60% women trainees in all aspects of computer work, of whom 56% are Coloured. The courses vary in length but many are four or five sessions, three hours each. The trainer reported that

people come from far away and they have had a trainee who travelled from Saldanha, a distance of approximately 140 kilometres.

Media Trainers' Forum (MTF) provides trainers who go to enterprises and train existing staff in techniques relating to the production of newsletters, posters, leaflets, and so on. They "provide hands-on training and theoretical skills on media education". The exact details of what constitutes the "hands-on or theoretical" training was not clarified. 85% of the people trained are Coloured, of whom only 35% are women. They also run a workshop for their active members. At the time of the interview they were running a pilot rural training programme which involved all media training programmes in the Overberg, a vast area that is stretching from Saldanha to George.

Namaquanuus (NQNUUS) has a year-long on the job training programme for a few journalists in running a community newspaper, and is a rurally based organisation. Of the 100% Coloured community that it serves, 60% are women.

National Language Project (NLP) trains a small number of African men to become interpreters. This is somewhat anomalous, the trainer pointed out, because a "lot of work is done by women" citing nurses in particular, who interpret patients' comments all the time. Because of this, the organisation proposes, in future, to upgrade people who already act as interpreters, as well as those whose work is not considered as involving translation. An NLP representative has already invited court interpreters to attend a meeting to address problems like incomplete translations. The trainer did not know about trade unions, yet felt that women often do conduct the translations, without any formal training. She will work towards having this type of translation recognised as a particular skill. She discussed the problem of the Xhosa language, in particular, as many words do not exist and as a result people sometimes have a sense of isolation. She was very conscious of the fact that people accept assignments for which they are not qualified. She reported that her organisation was currently conducting a study in order to establish contact with people acting as interpreters. The problem will be one of convincing employers that they should release their employees to be trained.

NLP are training African women interpreters and translators in the city. This is a new develop-

ment in its work and members are currently learning how to train translators and interpreters.

It also provides language classes in Xhosa, where the majority of trainees are White women.

Conclusions

Training for unemployed workers tends to be geared towards provision for men. The trainer reported that where he had previously made attempts to include women in such training they had failed. In one case, the training co-ordinator reported that where women tried training alongside men - making kerb stones - doing "men's work", they came up against a whole set of resistance from the male trainees. For example, besides clear sexual harassment, they were sexually taunted about the nature of the work. Two women left because of this. In addition, the women who remained were deliberately marginalised by the men - excluded from the team spirit or co-operation that developed between the men. The women had to "prove" themselves. If a heavy object had to be lifted, the men went to each other's aid, whereas if a woman tried to lift it, the men would stand back and watch to see if she could succeed - often taunting her in the process. One woman in particular, realised that she would have to be twice as good as the men and started taking on more and more responsibilities, like basic bookkeeping, since she would have to struggle later to get a job with her training, whereas the men assumed that their training would automatically get them work. The trainer was pessimistic about training women. He said that "even if you give women the skills and they go and work in the private sector, they will not be rewarded for their sweat".

When it comes to skilling for the formal labour market, including upgrading, the anticipation is that this must be much more limited for women, given the status of Black women in this sector. Yet the range of training on offer is wide and progress is being made towards opening up opportunities for Black women. In particular, training such as that by BSDC will fall within the sphere of affirmative action.

Skilling, including upgrading, must become an extremely important sector in NFE within the next few years particularly given the attention to affirmative action, and the stated need for skilled and trained personnel. It is not clear, however, how many COs will be able to contribute significantly to

this type of work. It would seem that the number of COs providing training which leads to employment in the formal labour market is small. The importance, though, of the link between NFE and the labour market cannot be underestimated in a country where the rate of unemployment is so high. As pointed out in Chapter 2, the training for upgrading is likely to be undertaken mainly in the formal sector, in co-operation with organised business, and largely involving men. Yet some of the work described above is more varied than expected and successful in its aims.

The question arises as to what extent such training is available to women. In one instance, where women and men were trained together, problems did emerge, particularly in relation to the male trainees who expressed specific viewpoints about the women's commitment to the training or else behaved in an unsupportive way towards the women.

Van die vroue het drie swanger geraak. Dit was 'n ontwrigting uit die projek, en twee mans het gevra of die vroue onverantwoordelik was met die gebruik van voorbehoedmiddels. Miskien was die vroue van die begin af nie so committed nie, uit die aard van die situasie – miskien wou hulle nie werklik 'n joernalis word nie

Of the women, three became pregnant. It was a disruption in the project, and two men asked whether the women were irresponsible with use of contraception. Maybe the women were not as committed right from the start, the nature of the situation – maybe they didn't really want to become journalists ...

But there are exceptions, and these refer to those organisations which specifically devise training for women. BSDC, for example, is one organisation devoted to affirmative action and which appears highly successful in placing African women in white collar jobs, where previously they had been virtually excluded. It is an exception, and is an example of a CO successfully tapping into this sphere of work. Perhaps others may draw a lesson from this.

CECS with its programme which has included returning exiles, does cater successfully for women, many of whom already have some keyboard knowledge.

Political

It was anticipated that all the organisations which fall within this category had been established during the height of the political struggle. But this is not the case. A few of the rurally based organisations are relatively new, although one or two are offshoots of other organisations, or closely linked to older organisations.

It can be taken, that all these organisations address various aspects of human rights through paralegal training or working with members of a community, in order to get them involved in civil actions of various types. The nature of the training is obviously undergoing significant changes due to changing social situations. It is necessary to emphasise that some of the organisations that could have been broadly described as "political" have been reclassified as falling into the category of those teaching "Life Skills".

Statements by some of the trainers gives an indication of their perception of their roles:

... Our end goal is to make justice more accessible to people, to help people understand the processes of government, democratise local government. Give people access to justice ... by training paralegal workers in the community. Encourage a rights culture as the core of understanding legal issues so that we can restructure the legal system. (LEAP)

... We work with such incredibly marginalised communities, where the level of skills is so low, that for us to give an input is really not enough. They need a whole lot of other things. (DAG)

Interchange Foundation (IF) focuses on general youth development and awareness training, but also works with a small number of teachers and young adults – predominantly female – from all racial and language groups, in equal proportions, to address racism and break down racial tensions between various ethnic and culturally specific groups. This they do through weekend-long training camps, during which a number of issues are tackled.

Ons bring mense intensief saam in die omgewing, op 'n kleinboewe in 'n natuurgebied. Ons probeer om 'n 'eiland' klimaat te skep sodat mense desnoods met nuwe waardes saam moet lewe gedurende die opleiding. (IF)

We bring people together intensively in the environment, on a plot in a natural area. We try to create an 'island' atmosphere so that people, of necessity, have to live with different values for the duration of the training.

Oudtshoorn Resource Advisory Centre (ORAC) works with rural Afrikaans-speaking Coloured people, one-third of whom are women, in a range of matters. For example, they get in touch with organisations in outlying areas, determine their needs, and then organise seminars and workshops. For example, having established the needs in a small town it drew on the local ANC groups, to address problems regarding pensions and police harassment. ORAC tries to ensure that whatever training is provided is not lost, and that those who have attended their workshops will return to their various organisations and try and "distribute their skills, so the skills don't get lost". Furthermore, if there is conflict between local government and civics, it will act as mediator. This point illustrates the multi-faceted nature of some organisations which respond to a variety of needs in the community. ORAC is heavily involved in voter education, again illustrating the proactive nature of some of the organisations. In addition, it plans to cross the colour line and work with both African and Coloured groups.

Education Resource and Information Project (ERIP), based at UWC, trains a large number of people active in different parts of the community. It has had very definite goals in regard to training. Overall, it trains people in organisational skills which can be transferred to other members of the organisations in which they work. Courses are run over a six month period at UWC, for up to 30 students, of whom only approximately 15% are women. It also runs a number of organisational development courses at the premises of organisations. Specifically, it provides resource centre training with an emphasis on management and running an organisation; fundraising; leadership training, which includes executive duties, planning, and coordinating work of an organisation; and finally, organisation development, including evaluation. It trains people with a view to this training being ploughed back into the organisation. In this way, it aims to help build organisational strengths and develop leadership capacity. ERIP is currently heavily engaged in voter education.

DAG (Development Action Group) is involved in running workshops for civics and community-based organisations. This covers a range of topics, mostly concentrating on physical development issues as well as community organisations. These include matters relating to local government, housing, services, community facilities, rates and so on. At the time of the interview, DAG was developing a training programme for staff in technical skills. This involved devising workshop packages and compiling articles and appropriate information. In addition, it was co-ordinating a training programme together with another CO. The majority of their trainees are male.

Karoo Law Clinic, which has been in existence since 1989, is concerned with problems faced by people in rural areas. It views political organisation as neglected, and offers different types of training which is demanded by members of the community itself. It distributes questionnaires asking what type of training is needed. KLC provides training in negotiating skills, typing, and language development – particularly in English and Afrikaans. This organisation has women trainees.

LEAP (Legal Education Action Project), a project of the Institute of Criminology of UCT, which aims to pass on skills, works mainly in rural areas where people generally do not have access to legal assistance. To this end, they run workshops on arrest and detention, powers of police to use force, and, on request, will run specialised workshops. Interestingly, more than half of the groups are composed of women.

Centre for Rural Legal Studies (CRLS) conducts a range of activities which include lobbying, publicity, demystifying labour laws for farm workers, providing some training for farm workers on paralegal issues, and workshops on labour relations and general social issues. The training was derived after a two-year period in direct response to demands made by members of the community. This too has women trainees.

Conclusions

Political training ranges from challenging racism to specific training courses for individual members of organisations in leadership qualities, analysing social formation – civics, trade unions, etc. – to training organisations themselves. The nature of political training at the time the study was conducted

ed indicated that COs were in a transitional phase, in terms of the training provided, although this was less obvious in the rural areas. Some trainers were very conscious of the fact that organisations which came into existence during the emergency years, during the 1980s, were changing their way of work to accommodate the changing political climate.

During that time we were into crisis management, running around trying to prevent people from being evicted, organising rent boycotts etc. So under those circumstances it was very difficult to build; it was more protective or trying to protect – that unfortunately has become a culture in organisations. It's very difficult for us to get away from that now, that's being in a reactive role rather than being proactive – but we are working on it.

Some reservation about the extent of success of the work done with the communities was expressed by one of the trainers, who said:

We say that because the aim of our workshops and training is to increase a community's capacity, but I'm not sure if it is increasing their capacity, or whether it is not in many ways creating a certain dependency situation. What happens is that once people get to know about you, you come and run a workshop, and next time there is a problem they phone you and you have to come and sort it out, or help them to sort it out. It's almost the more they get to know about you, the more they rely on you.

There clearly is a need for training which falls under the heading of "political". Organisations like ERIP are likely to be heavily engaged in voter education leading up to the time of the first democratic elections in the country, but the work on capacity building of organisations must not disappear. Overall, it would seem advisable that COs working in the field of the "political" may well have to examine their agenda in the light of the needs and the changes that are occurring.

Turning now towards the way in which politically oriented organisations have made provision for women, this is a clear-cut example of the appropriation of women's needs into broader, community-based needs. Women are enveloped and their own

specific needs are submerged. No matter how much women have been included in this area of training, issues relevant to their subordination have not been addressed. Some of the respondents are aware of this lacuna and are now seeking ways of dealing with this complex matter.

ORGANISATIONAL DETAILS RELATING TO TRAINING PROVISION

There are a number of other factors important in CO training provision, which include the cost of training, how people are recruited, the role of the community in determining the nature of the training offered, and the language in which training is conducted. Some of these may indirectly affect the recruitment and training of women, but others are of a more general nature, and the recording of this might prove useful to the organisations themselves.

Support system for women

Some development workers have stressed the importance of providing a support system for women, particularly with young children, in order to facilitate their attendance. It is thought that crèches, transport, and the time of day at which classes are held, are all important factors in not only recruiting women to such classes, whatever form they take, but also in ensuring consistent attendance. In all, only four organisations offered any form of child-care for women in training.

The time classes are held can severely affect working class women from poor areas, where violence is high and people are afraid to go out at night. In regard to literacy provision, one respondent said:

Unless you can get a night school, and many people don't go to night school, they attract mainly male employed workers, so you are a woman, you are unemployed, you're home-bound people – don't have access to that kind of thing. The way that we have responded to communities and requests for classes, it's been a sort of trying to build an infrastructure of classes for people who wouldn't always have access to classes, so it's very difficult and extremely problematic.

However, it should be pointed out that one or two trainers reported that, for some women, the chance

of leaving their children at home, and getting away from familial responsibilities was seen as a plus sign and something they looked forward to.

Venue

Decisions about where to hold training sessions are governed by expediency, although organisations are not always capable of meeting the requirements of the community for various reasons.

The way we have responded to communities and requests for classes, it's been a sort of trying to build an infrastructure of classes for people who wouldn't always have access to classes, so it's very difficult and extremely problematic.

Only where specialised equipment is needed or a particular venue is required, will training happen at a central place. Thus, 23 organisations hold training sessions in local community centres or at community organisational centres. Four hold their training at particular sites, relevant to the nature of the training provided. As one trainer said:

[We hold it] in our own environment. In K., it's at our own premises, our own workshops. Workers should learn in their own environment, so the trainer must train in their environment.

It should be pointed out that, at the time of writing, and owing to political tensions generated by the murder of Chris Hani, the Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party by far-right White racists, and Amy Biehl, an American student in Guguletu (both in 1993), changes have come about in regard to venue. Delta, for example, no longer uses premises in Guguletu but rather a Quaker Hall which is accessible, but is in Mowbray, a predominantly White Cape Town suburb.

For at least one other organisation, its association with its own premises was thought as potentially dangerous. Triple Trust, which provides training only on request by members of the community, has emphasised that it does not wish to have its own centre preferring to draw on available facilities – church halls, and so on. It feels that this provides its centres with some degree of protection, and none of their centres have been a target for violence. It is not regarded as an institution, largely because it does not appear to have a physical presence.

The location of training may have implications for the trainees, many of whom have to travel considerable distances. Seven trainers did not think it constituted a problem, possibly because, given the geography of the Cape, people expect to travel long distances. Transport arrangements vary greatly, often depending on a particular arrangement for each training course. For example, trainees in twelve organisations have to travel between 100 and 1 000 kms to attend training. One trainer reported how people would hitch lifts to training sessions. Only three rural organisations could provide transport.

Cost of training

Eleven organisations – mostly religious-based and paralegal organisations – charge no fees for their training. Seven organisations charge a fixed fee, of which only three offer bursaries. In most cases, the fees are not a true reflection of the costs of the training. Three organisations rely on voluntary contributions, and seven use a sliding scale. All in all, three organisations offer bursaries: four are allocated on the basis of individual qualifications and economic needs; three are given as group subsidies; two on individual qualifications only; and only one on individual economic needs. On the whole, the organisations subsidise the training. Yet support for trainees who need to pay for their courses must constitute a problem, particularly those caught in the poverty gap.

Recruitment of members or people for training

Eleven organisations rely on their own networks and the grapevine to advertise their training and get recruits. Others have a more systematic form of recruitment and this varies from organisation to organisation. Triple Trust appears to have the most complex form, with a two week selection procedure (it has waiting lists for most of its training centres), which is aimed to improve the rate of success, particularly as the cost of training a single person is R2 000 per course. Others make contact with local communities and establish their recruitment in that way.

Entry requirements vary according to the nature of the training. One-third require some form of literacy or language skill to qualify, and another third require people to be members of the organisation or

based in community organisational structures. The remaining organisations offer training to whoever wants to do it.

Language used in training

Eighteen organisations claim to use the colloquial language for training. Seven perceived the languages they use as an integral part of the training. The rest used only English, irrespective of the language used by their trainees. In this case, all of them justified the use of English as integral to their training.

English is the language of business. They have to build up confidence in speaking English, not only for their work, but for social situations too. That is why English is emphasised. (BSDC)

Rape Crisis uses both Afrikaans and English. Where they trained African women (and the percentage is only 8%) Xhosa was not used. All the organisations using only Afrikaans operate in the rural areas.

Slowly, more use is being made of Xhosa although, paradoxically, less so in the remote rural areas. The recognition of the need for greater use of the Xhosa language has been the *raison d'être* for the development of the National Language Project's goals.

The use of English as the medium of instruction has been gaining ground, particularly in relation to industry and the more highly skilled types of training. This is likely to constitute a problem, particularly in rural areas in which Afrikaans is the main language. Trainers working with people in these areas have expressed their concern, and some have made strong representations to have the Afrikaans language preserved for training purposes. There is a different facet of language, and that is its accessibility to the trainees. One trainer said that some trainers fail because their language is "above the heads of the community. They speak English in a way which is not comprehended". He favoured trainers who could speak the "street language, the language of the people".

For the majority of Africans, one or other of the official languages, that is, Afrikaans or English, is a foreign language. For Coloured people, particularly those living in rural areas, Afrikaans is the first language. Hence, which language to employ in training sessions does constitute a problem. This ques-

tion was addressed by one of the working groups in the NEPI exercise, as well as referred to in the ABE document:

Language and multi-lingual literacy issues are critically important in adult literacy and basic education, as well as in general educational provision. Poor first- and second-language proficiency are key causes of high repetition and wastage rates, and of low academic achievement in schools, with profound consequences for employment and the externalities of schooling. Similarly, effective second-language literacy provisions remain a key area for development and research, and is presently inadequate. (NEPI ABE, p.3)

How training programmes are created

The rationale for the training programmes range from a clear-cut political agenda to a straightforward recognition of a particular gap or need expressed by the people themselves. The final decision often rests with the trainers themselves, but the project may have been formulated together with communities to meet their needs.

... We work primarily in community-based classes - we were always 'needs' oriented - which meant that every teacher and every group might have a different programme - and the teacher would negotiate that programme with the group.

... If there is a group of health workers, they have specific needs; if there's a group of unemployed women, they may have other needs; if there is a group in an employment self-help project the needs would be related to running that employment project and it might be bookkeeping or anything. Because we were very 'needs' related, it means that all our teachers have to be incredibly well trained to handle this.

Most of the projects claim they have devised their training programmes in response to a demand from the community or group of interested people, although five organisations initiated the programmes themselves. It is evident from the response, that most of the programmes are not directed by goals which specifically address women's needs.

Course outlines

Among the groups running workshops, only one had an outline; 11 organisations had written outlines for their training, but the remaining 16 had none. Apart from high rates of illiteracy, the fact that a great deal of the training is specifically related to "needs" of the community, the customised nature of much of the training is not surprising. However, in some cases, the absence of written documentation that the trainers could provide seems also to suggest a lack of coherence and planning and appears to characterise some of the training provisions.

Course content and changes

Much of the content comprising training appeared flexible, in that 21 interviewees mentioned that the training had changed during the past year, and that it was necessary to do so continuously, either in response to changing political conditions or the nature of the training itself. Where changes had not occurred three of the seven said that what was done was integral to their training and could not be changed. Clearly several organisations were in the midst of revising their provision. Delta is a case in point. The training co-ordinator had no doubts about the experimental nature of the work she and her colleagues were conducting, and were learning continuously from their work. NLP is another case where the training co-ordinator said that their course is based on trainees having a high level of literacy, but they hoped to adapt to the level of training of people who are not literate. But such training would involve consultation with the people themselves.

Certification

Certification of some kind may be important at the end of the training period, particularly if it is related to specific skills, given the high rate of unemployment and the possibility that certification opens up access to employment. This is by no means a new problem in NFE. Keddie (1980) drew attention to what she claimed was the lack of value of NFE in the "academic market place", which can markedly affect the potential livelihood of the recipient. NFE does not stop at conscientizing people, but also provides them with some skills. However, Keddie points, correctly, to the problems generated by the absence of certification. It limits

the chances of the recipient competing on the open labour market.

The following are the details on certification: two give certificates; four give letters of reference; 10 rely on the recognition of their status as reputable organisations, so that a letter saying the trainee has attended a class or workshop is all that is offered; two have provided trainees with jobs in the organisation; 10 give no recognition of attendance or any other form of certification.

The desire for some form of certification in the future was expressed by several respondents. One said:

People should be able to do a basic introductory kind of training at local level. Then there should be a type of intermediate course that is offered at a regional level. And after that, there should be advanced training done through a technikon, where people could do little blocks of training that should be tested and certified, and that could even contribute to a degree if necessary. So there will be a staggered approach to it, and people can actually improve their training over the years, and eventually upgrade their skills if necessary.

This sets out a process in which training in work-related skills could become a continuous process of accreditation leading to an upgrading of skills. Training would then become a life-long form of continuing education.

The SA Institute of Race Relations Survey (1993) has proposed concrete measures. It has recommended the creation of a system of certification and suggests that:

... a new system of certification should be introduced, with certification of non-formal education incorporated in to a national qualification structure to promote academic and vocational training. Two certification councils within the formal sector have already been established. (p.577)

However, a structured provision of training would be needed and, from the description given above, a great deal of work would have to be carried out in this regard. This matter is clearly on the agenda of education policy formulation by the ANC.

Conclusions

Examining some of the organisational issues relevant to the provision of training, suggests a wide range of problems which mitigate against an effective NFE programme. The venue is of obvious importance, but location in the most needy areas may also generate problems of safety of trainers and indeed trainees. Apart from elements of danger, where people have to travel considerable distances to get to the training, continuous attendance is likely to be a problem. In any event, it would require dedication and a high level of commitment to training, to both begin and continue with training against such odds. Costs of training obviously generate a problem. There are views held that some payment, even if token, should operate to remove the element of dependency that appears endemic in many communities. But this is clearly an internal issue to be resolved by funders and organisations. Which language will be used in any training scheme is obviously linked to the nature of the training provided, although there is clearly a political agenda. The recruitment of trainees in a significant number of organisations reveals a somewhat haphazard set of arrangements, and reflects the absence of highly structured training programmes and well organised centres. Equally, the development of programmes is idiosyncratic, and it is this which leads to duplication and possibly the inadequate use of limited resources. But this point will be elaborated a little in Part II, dealing with the training of trainers.

These points are applicable to men and women alike. There are, however, additional problems women must face. The minimal support for women with regard to child-care while attending courses could be addressed. The venue and its location is also likely to affect women, as is the question of travel. It is necessary to establish whether women are affected by the need to hitch to the training venues.

PROVISION FOR WOMEN IN THE FUTURE

When questioned about the future developments of COs, 18 respondents agreed that special training should be given to women.

Nie spesifieke opleiding nie, maar persoonlik dink ek daar is 'n groter noodligheid dat vroue

opleiding moet kry. Maar dit kan natuurlik nog baie verbeter.

Not specific training, but personally I think that women must get more training. But this can not improve [things] naturally.

There were wide ranging comments about the provision of training for women, and what the differences were in terms of how it affected women and men. Predictably, trainers who recognised problems generated by gender differences cited the gendered nature of society as a reason.

Generating self-confidence among women was recognised as an important factor in tackling gender differentiation:

The other question of ... self confidence - it falls under the same thing of empowerment of women. They still feel they are women, they are helpless, to an extent just being subordinate to men, although there has been a marked improvement compared to the time when we started working with them.

Another respondent said:

I think that [extension of training for women] would fit in a lot with the approach of the Women's Alliance - (we have) been a part of that ... the Women's College would be the place where poor women could come and get training from skilled professional women, and this would be empowering. People generally see the importance of exposing people to situations where they could acquire skills, particularly rural women.

There was recognition that more effective training for women could be achieved:

I think that training for women ... we would carry on pretty much as we are doing. I think though that there is a lot more that is needed to train women effectively.

However, defining what constitutes a gender-focused programme is often seen as simply working with women in an unspecified way. Some organisations have tried to formulate strategies, but to date there has been no systematic approach for doing

gender training consistently at grassroots level. Of course, several trainers were very conscious of this problem.

The other problem is our training, not only our organisation, that has all the wonderful components of saying we need to make women aware, but we don't reach them. There is more, we need to really find a way to impact on this question of demystifying women's roles – now and then there's a mix and suddenly it comes about.

I think it's a gender one like in any country – and in a way it's global, it's something that will take time. It's quite a difficult one, because in the rural areas where we work, women are really the ones who are taking responsibility for almost everything, production and everything. Yet there is a very strong structure of male control.

One trainer from the political sector recognised the need for training women in middle management:

One of the most important areas of training that is needed is to get more women into positions where they have enough skills to apply for jobs as middle level bureaucrats – development officers, liaison officers between local authorities and communities, policy makers within organisations, leadership figures within community-based organisations ...

Everything points to the need for COs to consider, quite seriously, the training they offer women. It is clear from the above data that skills' training for women differs from that for men, because of the gendered hierarchy of the formal and informal labour market, and women's social status in the family. It could be argued that COs themselves should become more aware of these distinct differences, and tailor some of their provisions to meet these differences.

RURAL ORGANISATIONS

Although the data on rural organisations has been included, it may be useful to consider their provision separately, given that many of the rurally-based organisations report that the workers, particularly the farm workers in these areas, feel forgotten and isolated.

The training co-ordinators in the small sample are men, except for one organisation, and their trainees appear to be young, ranging from 14-20 (in one case) to between 20-30. Only one organisation included people up to the age of 60.

The organisations, apart from two, have all operated between two and four years. One of the oldest organisations is known to have been subjected to State harassment, and put under enormous strain during the 1980s. Its goals and activities very much reflect a political agenda. One of the oldest organisations serves the community through its advice officers, its community newspapers, and its collective form of leadership. It runs workshops in outlying areas in order to reach people who are isolated.

Because of the youth of some of these organisations, their programmes are still in the developmental stage. The Centre for Rural Legal Studies, for example, was preparing a package to publicise their training. Another organisation anticipates extending its operation to include Coloured youth as, at the time of the interview, it was working exclusively with African youth.

The organisations unanimously referred to the harsh conditions and limited facilities of the *platte-land*. One trainer complained of the low level of education and knowledge among the communities. He said that the biggest problem was the absence of initiative among the disadvantaged people. He said people knew nothing about the world. He cited pregnancies as an example. "They just have a child, there's no thought for the child, and then it's given to the grandmother". At the same time as he took a moral stand about pregnancy, he also spoke about the need to raise the consciousness of the people.

Another raised the question of deviancy among the youth, and the racism that he encountered. This trainer spoke about the gangs and how they hoped to tackle this. They try to draw the youth into forums and activities. They aim to interest the youth and inform them of alternate ways of behaving and living. With such knowledge, the youth themselves could work out alternate ways of behaving. To this end, they plan to introduce a series of youth forums. In regard to racism this trainer said:

Daar is groot rasse skeiding tussen die Swartes en die Kleurlinge en ons will graag dit oorbrug. Dan wil ons uitreik na die Wit gemeenskap.

There is a great division between the Blacks and the Coloureds and we want to bridge this gap. Then we want to reach out to the White society.

He knew that none of this would be a simple task but said:

Dit sal nie maklik wees nie om die mure te breek nie, maar ek dink dat elke treetjie is belangrik. Die mure van Berlyn is afgebreek en ek dink dat one ook kan die mure van apartheid en die mure van racism afbreek.

It won't be easy to break down the walls, but I think that every little step is important. The walls of Berlin were broken down and I think that we can break down the walls of apartheid and racism as well.

Transport constituted a major problem for some of these organisations, although one or two dismissed it as an accepted condition of rural life.

Like everyone else, funding for the rurally-based organisations is a problem, and at least one organisation referred to the need of raising funds among the community itself. This would exacerbate an already difficult situation given the poverty of the community.

Women participated fully in all the training schemes, but none had any special training available to them. Several trainees did make the point that they hoped to introduce particular programmes in the future. One trainer said that he particularly wanted women to "recognise their rights". And another trainer said that because women feel subordinate ("*die vroue voel nog onderdanig*") he wanted to tackle this. But one other said that women on the farms were very strong.

The training offered by these organisations were, apart from one, mainly in the form of workshops and, in at least one case, through newsletters as well. All seem to focus on local issues and people's rights, and two were engaged in career advice.

Several rural organisations derive help and/or training from larger, well established, Cape Town based organisations.

Training of their own staff was done very much on the spot, with weekly staff meetings to consider their work and their roles. In one organisation, train-

ers attended training sessions of a Cape Town based organisation (whose members, in turn, attended courses run by UWC). Another trainer referred to the benefit he had derived from doing the CACE Certificate Course at UWC. He said he had acquired mediating skills which he employed continuously. This question of the training of adult educators will be discussed below in the policy recommendations.

Because of their vulnerability, these organisations called for collaboration between themselves and city-based organisations, as well as collaboration at local level, and a need for networking.

It is obvious that rural organisations face grave problems. Individual trainers raised some of these. One found the organisational infrastructure itself constituted a problem:

Organisational weakness is a great one. Our whole training programme is premised on people being used and observed in their organisations for training that they can pass on. In the rural areas we work in organisations that are very weak, so part of what we have to do is to strengthen organisations in the way that we work.

Associated with this problem is one which was mentioned by several people, viz. the upward mobility of those for whom the training has been a success. Three organisations working in the rural areas complained that individuals use the training for their own personal advancement, and results in their leaving their communities:

But people with most initiative, who would use your training best, are the ones who are most likely to get out of the rural areas. And once they have reached a certain level of skill they are also likely to get jobs.

The movement to the urban areas by the more successful people appears inevitable:

Skilled people leave the rural areas. There is nothing we can do ... that will only be solved once there are jobs in the rural areas for people with those kinds of skills.

The specificity of rural organisations needs to be recognised and special facilities made available to them.

PART II

PROFILE OF THE TRAINERS IN ORGANISATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Adult educationists in South Africa, as has been said in different contexts, have been imbued with the ideology of AE as social movement. This has had a direct bearing on the professionalisation of AE as practice, the practitioners themselves, and the people whom they train at the grassroots. Many adult educationists regard themselves as people engaged in practices relating to changing the social conditions of the people they work with. They appear to have learned their practice on the shop floor as it were, on the basis of their own experience and that of their colleagues. Some may differentiate between themselves and educationists in the formal educational system, in that, it could be argued, the latter have little if any connection with grassroots activities characteristic of NFE. This view is encapsulated in the following:

... there is an educational discourse to teach, protect and develop, that this is itself the hard-won historical product and the current practice of political engagement ... Any attempt at professionalisation must attempt to carry this tradition into NFE practice. **NFE's essence lies in the closeness of experienced social problems to the construction of educational solutions.** (Millar, 1991, p.220, my emphases)

This focus on experience is borne out by the background of people who work in the area.

The field of adult education at the moment is unstructured, particularly in comparison with that of the formal system. There is no professional grouping of adult educationists; no recognised discipline with control over entry into the area of work. Unlike teaching in the formal educational system which has a defined path of entry into the work with recognised levels of qualifications and associated pay structures, adult educationists and trainers may enter the field on the basis of their work experience. They may or may not have post-secondary

education, they may have no qualifications at all beyond their work experience. In many cases, they have entered this area of work through ideological commitments to particular goals.

This section of the study sets out to establish a profile of the trainers working in the COs considered in this study.

PROFILE OF TRAINERS IN THE ORGANISATIONS

Two categories of trainers may be identified. The first group may have some qualification ranging from a university degree to a certificate (which includes AE certificate). One trainee, for example, engaged in language work said that she had a degree in linguistics and had studied Xhosa at university, and it was on the basis of this and her work experience that she was now developing training within her organisation. In addition, there are AE certificate and diploma courses being offered at two of the universities in the Western Cape – University of Cape Town and University of the Western Cape. While the graduates' certificates do not guarantee a progression in career terms, they may open up employment possibilities. People who register on these courses have a wide range of experience, training, qualification, and education.

The second group includes self-styled trainers who can claim to be trainers on the basis of specific knowledge bases or work experience. These trainers may come through the work of individual organisations, or work outside such organisations which may have been involved in particular skill training as, for example, a skilled worker or a nurse etc.

The study attempted to get clear data on the qualifications held by the trainers in the organisations, but it is not possible to give an adequate summary of this. While the respondents could provide detailed information on their *own* training, detailed knowledge was not easily available about all the others in the organisations. It could be assumed that

someone working in a law centre would have a legal qualification, but someone teaching literacy may or may not have a university degree. Training developed out of necessity and people responded to the perceived need, as expressed by the respondent who said (in relation to the literacy training they were providing):

No one else is doing it. Learners wanted to learn, there were no teachers to teach them. We found teachers, we found venues, we started teaching learners. We realised that teachers needed training, we found it from nowhere, no one else was really doing it. Certainly, in those days there were more people than there are now, so we just started training teachers, and we decided to document that more carefully than we've done in the past.

Another commented:

You know what it was like with liberation struggles. You just got dumped into performing certain tasks – mobilising groups around particular issues. Sometimes you questioned your approach ...

This particular trainer did the certificate course at UWC and said she gained more confidence from doing so and found her studies were applicable to the work she was doing.

Of the 27 training co-ordinators who were interviewed (the 28th person was a director of the organisation), only six had university degrees and one a teacher training qualification. Others claimed, however, that they did have the educational qualifications required for the job, but these were extremely wide-ranging and defied classification. One trainer was a qualified nurse; others had had experience in the field or in the work they had done previously. This absence of skilling was recognised by some respondents as constituting a major problem, and one saw it as having repercussions within the organisation itself.

The question of what constitutes necessary skilling for NFE and AE obviously will need to be resolved. But there are certain consequences when only a small number of people have perceived qualifications. This may have unintended results and lead to power struggles within the organisation

itself and spread into the community. The question of skilling spills over and has other consequences. As one respondent put it:

I mean a lot of the weakness of organisations is not just a lack of resources, but also the way that local conflict can completely derail organisational efforts because so much power is based in a few skilled individuals so that we sometimes have to draw in other people, and not try to solve things ourselves. This means we also have to do things like training people in skills like conflict resolution, mediation, and some basic organisational skills.

There is another aspect which one respondent commented upon. This is the possible consequence that professionalization might have on those individuals who lack such qualifications, and who have reached positions of authority on the basis of their own experience. This view was forcibly expressed by one woman who said:

I have worked very hard for over 10 years to get this organisation established. Throughout the Peninsula people are using our methods, and all over groups are being trained. Funding has been a major problem for most of the time, and I've been earning a pittance. I know the work, I'm familiar with it and I know what policy changes are required. In recent years, the universities have started using more and more of our techniques, and gradually they try and get more control over the area. Because they've got money and time which a small organisation like ours doesn't have, they succeed in getting invited to conferences, meetings and get onto all sorts of working groups. Slowly, a process of co-optation is taking place, with people like me who are critical of the universities and their way of working, systematically being excluded from meetings etc.

In the case of one organisation, staff development of its trainers was high on its list of priorities, particularly as trainers were not chosen on the basis of academic qualification. A number of their trainers were doing part-time courses at UCT. Others could be given as much as a month's leave to pursue a particular training course. The respondent found a great

level of aspiration among the trainers to take advantage of whatever opportunity came their way.

Most of the organisations employ their own trainers, although in the case of six organisations they called upon outside experts.

In 15 projects, training was provided by paid trainers as well as volunteers, 12 depended only on paid workers to do the training, and one organisation, SAHSSO, concerned with training health workers, relies entirely on volunteers. Thus, approximately half of the trainers are paid workers from the organisations, who were required to have qualifications, particular skills and experience in the field. For the rest, the organisations rely on volunteer staff.

The organisations themselves are engaged in training their own personnel. All but three organisations do so. With one exception, all the organisations claim a high level of co-operation with other organisations to develop their training programmes. As was seen from discussion on rural organisations, several depend on the expertise of Cape Town based organisations, for example CRIC, whose members in turn may upgrade their training through attendance at university-run AE courses.

The internal training programme must raise questions about standardising levels of training, ensuring a high level of training capacity among the people responsible for training, and, ultimately, moving adult education into a professionalised form which many regard as *sine qua non* for future development. Standardising levels of training is complex because of the range of activities carried out by COs. In the rural areas, one trainer said that training for staff is organised internally through weekly staff meetings, in which the work that is done is constantly reviewed. He himself, however, said that he learned how to negotiate through the training he received at UWC. Other respondents referred to this as well. One trainer said how much she had gained in confidence after attending the certificate course at CACE.

Reliance on volunteer workers raised several problems. Several interviewees raised the problem of the accountability of volunteer staff within the organisation itself. Volunteers may not provide on-going support for their trainees, nor would they do any follow-up of the training. One person complained of the limited time volunteer staff spent at work:

The limited time that the volunteers have to spend in the organisations – most of them can only spend a few hours a week or sometimes just a few hours a month.

And finally, there is the problem of the reliability of volunteer staff.

Of the 28 co-ordinators, only two had held the position for ten years or longer, 16 had been working between one and five years, four just over five years, and five had been there less than a year.

TRAINING CO-ORDINATORS BY GENDER AND ETHNIC MEMBERSHIP

Most of the training co-ordinators interviewed were women, 15 of whom were White, four Coloured, and two African. There was only one African man, one White man, and four Coloured men working as training co-ordinators. Nevertheless, one respondent expressed the view that this is changing. She said that the area of training had previously been a "feminine" one, particularly as it required "hard labour with little pay".

Now that the political scene is changing and there is some "glory" attached, the men want to take over.

What needs to be noted, however, is that gender differences are very marked between urban and rural areas. The relative proportions of women to men interviewees in our sample, in urban and rural areas, is marked. Of the eight organisations situated in the rural areas, four trainers were men, while from the urban organisations only two out of 19 were men. This marked disparity, with more men proportionately acting as training co-ordinators in rural areas, may be associated with the vast distances which have to be covered in rural areas and the degree of mobility among women, as well as the restricted opportunities that are open to them in terms of employment hence their move into COs. (This difference between male and female management in rural areas also exists, with men outnumbering women).

The ethnic distribution among trainers in general is quite different to that of the training co-ordinators. According to the respondent the total number of trainers is as follows:

	Women	Men
African	33	14
Coloured	21	9
White	28	5

There are more African trainers, both male and female, than in either group, though overall the combination of Coloured and White is greater among women, while amongst men it is equal.

Recently, it would appear that a change has been taking place in the employment of African and Coloured women. This has led to a few expressions of complaint by White trainers directed at the level of "skill" or competence of the new recruits. One White woman said that Black women who were employed as "fieldworkers" were not adequately trained to do the work and it fell upon the older, experienced fieldworkers to spend all the time doing "affirmative action" with the new employees. This left the former "with a double job in the organisation". She continued that the male top echelons were able to get on with "policy formulation".

A similar point was made by another White woman, a founder-member of her organisation who said:

Most of the organisations are restructuring gradually organisations have started restructuring and women – mostly White women – who have been doing grassroots work for years, are being sidelined into 'media production' while the big boys take over the newly-created positions of director, or head or chairperson – mostly men and very often Coloured. People who have sweated to get the organisation going are suddenly invisible. Organisational 'restructuring' is a cheap excuse for getting into positions of power without doing all the hard work.

As commented elsewhere, the process of affirmative action and redressing the ethnic disparities maintained by institutionalised racism is having an effect on White women, in COs whose position is threatened by these changes.

CONCLUSIONS

The training of trainers arose from sheer necessity. Organisations came into existence to meet certain needs, set out to provide certain training facilities. These were carried out by, predominantly, women who, in the main, learned how to train through experience and expediency. How effective such training is still needs to be assessed, although such a task is daunting.

Organisations are very much in the throes of restructuring to meet the changing social and political conditions – 19 out of the 28 organisations in the sample were doing so at the time of writing. In the course of this, they are evaluating their training facilities and this includes reassessing the qualifications and capacities of their trainers. The outcome of these deliberations is unknown, but is likely to affect the gender and ethnic composition as indicated by the above data, with a move towards appointing Black men in positions of authority and more Black women in the field. The quality of the training is also likely to change. As yet, there is no consensus about the need to standardise or professionalise training NFE trainers. This is a sensitive area and one in which there is likely to be a clash of interests. Whatever the outcome, there is a move from external forces, derived from issues relating to funding and the resulting processes of evaluation and accountability, which could lead to the call for the establishment of a career structure within the COs, based on the professionalization of AE.¹ NFE overall is likely to witness significant changes in the near future.

NOTES

1. At the time of writing, a consultative Forum for Community Colleges resolved to found an adult education association. It was launched in November 1993.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Both the question of the goal of NFE and its application to provisions for women raise the whole question of policy relating to AE. During the early period that this project was being conducted, a major investigation in South Africa by the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), "to interrogate policy options in all areas of education within a value framework derived from the ideals of the broad democratic movement" (NEPI, **Framework** 1993) was completed and published in a series of reports.

Adult Basic Education (ABE) and Adult Education (AE) were two of the 12 working parties, and each submitted its own report with its own policy recommendations. These were summarised in **Framework** (1993) which dealt with the "conceptual and historical analysis of the NEPI process". Without going into the detail of each of the AE and ABE Reports' recommendations, suffice it to say that **Framework** strongly supported a co-ordinated structure to promote ABE facilities under a democratic state and favoured an "ends-based view" which they saw as dominated by a "largely market-regulated system [which] could provide the threshold of basic skills required to build a competitive and growing economy". (p.31) This will be discussed briefly below. **Framework** prioritised ABE work, but in regard to other aspects of AE said that the sector as such is:

not unimportant; but under the circumstances it is likely to remain the least articulated, and most decentralized and most diverse sector ... [which] will impact more on the quality of life than on equity, the formal system, or formal employment chances. (p.37)

They expressed a worry that NGOs [COs] would have to struggle to maintain their autonomy and

their very existence. What is important to note is that potentially highly influential non-State initiative has relegated to the side lines work other than ABE in the NFE sector. If such policy recommendations are realised, then there is every likelihood that the work of AE would not necessarily be subsidised and/or supported by a future democratic government.

This relegation of forms of AE other than those associated with ABE provision which can be connected to employment and the "market-regulated system" is not surprising. Among other things, there was and is an overall concern with redressing the deliberate State policy to exclude Black people, and Africans in particular, from access to formal education and training that would have enabled them to compete on a more or less equal footing with the White population in the formal labour market.

It could be argued that under present conditions the need to redress the occupational inequalities generated by apartheid is more urgent than the provision of a rounded education. Narrowly conceived education and training programmes which can more rapidly produce large numbers of skilled Black employees would, as a result, need to take precedence – at least for a large cohort of people. From this standpoint, the virtual exclusion of Black people from skilled occupations makes access to those occupations more urgent than the status distinctions entailed in the vocational or academic differentiation. (Wolpe, H., 1991, p.11.)

In accordance with this, there is a tendency to prioritise vocational training in a new education system, available to all previously marginalised

people, of such a nature that would produce a technologically skilled population.

The question of vocationalism raises several problems. The first and most immediate problem is how the existing population that has missed out on all training and educational opportunities and is either unemployed, or working in the informal sector, can be assisted. Unfortunately, the working group on AE failed to take into account the potential participation of AE in all these pertinent fields and provided the basis for the NEPI **Framework Report** to come to the conclusion it did about the role of AE in general.

But there are other dimensions to vocationalism, and these are the need to recognise the differentiated nature of the labour force in terms of class membership, and the specificity of women's status, levels of skills, and needs. In spite of the rhetoric of the NEPI exercise, which specified that non-sexism was one of its aims, the particularity of women's needs was almost totally ignored, (Wolpe, AM., 1994). Unless a careful monitoring is undertaken of the labour market, and women's specific conditions in this sphere considered, women could well be overlooked in the stampede to produce a technologically trained and skilled labour force. Women are likely to remain in the poverty trap.

A focus on vocationalism would suggest that only those COs which provide training that can be seen to be related to some form of vocationalism in the new South Africa would be given support internally, and this policy could spread to overseas funders. This would put COs under pressure to conform to a policy defined by market forces. This would have serious consequences for the provision of forms of education which fall outside the vocational boundaries. As the study has shown COs' work spans far more than training for the labour market. The work which deals with strategies for survival and that for the informal market would disappear. COs can and do enhance the quality of life in many different respects. The recommendation by the NEPI exercise is that such COs be left to their own devices. NFE must guard against the relegation to the side lines of work that does not fit into the market idiom. NFE needs to assert the need for on-going life-long education, particularly for those adults for whom little if any provision has been made in the past.

It would be a sad day if the diverse possibilities and potential of AE which embrace both a vocation-

alism and a training which would enhance the quality of life, not only through the acquisition of skills related to survival but also of a broad cultural nature, are not incorporated into the educational programme for a new South Africa.

A large number of South Africans would benefit enormously from a coherent NFE programme which could redress some of the lacunae generated by former State policies. This will be true in post-apartheid South Africa, where even democratic rule will not be able to undo for some time the ravages of apartheid.

The field of AE is an elusive one which articulates with the everyday lives of people and the confusions, contradictions and problems they experience. The disparate history of AE in South Africa mirrors the apartheid system and, not surprisingly, has created the conditions whereby many COs have been engaged in a wide range of anti-apartheid activities. There has been no consensus among these organisations, and their work has been largely unco-ordinated and conducted on an individualistic basis. However, a major influence among them has been the work of Freire, and has given rise to the acceptance of the notion of the "empowerment" of the communities. It was argued that both Freire's ideas and the notion of "empowerment" have been adopted uncritically, leading to a situation in which the actions of COs are not subjected to critical evaluation and the use of the term "empowerment" legitimates their actions.

Provision of NFE in a sample of COs in the Western Cape was examined. Details of the structures of the organisations in the study were presented, but comparisons between them were impossible to make. What did emerge, however, quite clearly, is the multi-faceted nature of many organisations which were trying to confront too many problems with too few resources.

The fragility of some of the organisations was made obvious to the researcher and indeed, since the study was conducted, several organisations have ceased functioning or are on the verge of so doing. There is clearly a need to monitor the activities of COs and, to this end, an umbrella organisation could be established which would do this. Adult educationists in this study were not supportive of the idea, largely because of the suspicion that still exists in relation to State or para-statal organisations. This could be linked to a system of funding.

Funding of COs is likely to undergo a dramatic change, reflecting the changing social conditions of the times. More specifically, the move towards proactive measures, away from oppositional and reactional modes of operation, will not only affect the nature of provisions but also their funding. Here, the funders themselves are likely to play a determining role in what constitutes an acceptable agenda. Gender differences as a focus of interest, apart from those COs directly geared towards a pro-feminist type goal, were limited, although many of the training facilities were primarily for women. Thus, it would make sense to establish a set of criteria for funding to standardise NFE provisions in accordance with a classificatory system in which priorities are clearly demarcated, one of which would be to ensure that gender-specific interests are taken into account.

Some trainers felt swamped by the scale of the needs of the communities with which they work. Details of the training provided were given for each category of training as delineated, viz. strategies for survival, skills training for the informal and formal sectors of the economy, and that for the political sector. In the first category of survival strategies, the likelihood is that provision made here will reinforce women's traditional roles, while at the same time alleviating the harsh conditions in which they live. Thus, dealing with women's practical interests does not address their strategic interests, which, in turn, are related more directly to the condition of their overall subordination in the private sphere of their homes and the public spheres of their work in the labour market and in civil society.

Turning to the other forms of skills' training, what constitutes "skill" is recognised as comprising different aspects of the labour process, including sets of competencies and socially defined practices. Contrary to expectations, far more training in diverse fields for employment in the formal labour market, ranging from office management to translators, is being conducted in the Western Cape. With the likelihood of affirmative action programmes, it is the educated black woman who is likely to benefit in the next few years if she can get advanced forms of training. But this leaves the majority of women who desperately want a permanent job in the formal labour market outside the existing training programmes, and it is the needs of this group which should be addressed. However, any training

would have to be linked to job opportunities and this, in turn, is closely tied in with economic factors. NFE tends to abrogate all responsibility for this area of training and leave it to the trade unions and business to deal with. But it is recommended that there should be a very much closer link between COs and the business and industrial world.

This leads to a recommendation that a body be established which would effectively monitor NFE provision in relation to demands arising from organised labour and employers' organisations. Such a body should keep in mind, at all times, the specific problems relating to women's employment, both in the formal and the informal labour market, and encourage employers to open up avenues for women.

The skills training for women in the informal sector represents a potential growth area which could be met if provided by highly structured organisations which monitor their provisions. A cautionary note needs to be struck here. Enabling women to generate income working from their homes may alleviate the burden of their poverty on the one hand, but does not necessarily reduce their household and child-minding duties for which they are, in the main, responsible. It is one arena in which women can benefit from such activities, particularly as it is income-generating.

In regard to the training in the political arena, there was some doubt expressed by some trainers about the difficulties in changing their agendas from one of opposition to one of development, as well as the general efficacy of what is being done. Overall, of course, women do not benefit from this type of training, which focuses on the community which is male oriented and male dominated. Women's civil status is restrictive. NFE provision in the political arena does not directly address women's strategic interests, as such, but NFE provision is likely to play an even more important role in the transformation to a democratic society, and as such should be developed.

In each category of provision, there is an obvious need for expansion of facilities and greater co-ordination, employment of existing expertise, and rationalisation between the providers. At the same time, trainers could draw on existing expertise as well as pool their own expertise, particularly as some organisations have and are developing different strategies and techniques for addressing

the particular problems they are tackling, and are often highly innovative.

At the end of the day, few organisations issue certificates to their trainees. A national body could be established which would set up the basis for the establishment of a system of certification of NFE provision. But such a system would need to consider aspects of establishing a system of progression of accreditation, as well as a register which recognises a range of skills not formally acknowledged.

Organisational issues highlighted the practical difficulties that COs experience as, well as the somewhat ad hoc arrangements that are made in regard to some of the educational provisions.

The field of AE is non professionalised, and those who work within it tend to come from quite disparate backgrounds. Indeed, little is known about the people who provide the training, and this study attempted to obtain such a profile. The study could only establish the educational and other levels of the trainers themselves. Less than a quarter had university backgrounds. The remainder had predominantly work experience, and several of them referred to training they undertook over the past few years to upgrade themselves. In two cases, at least, these were certificate courses conducted by CACE. The impression that is obtained is one of a group of people with "hands on" experience, and whose knowledge of training

is derived directly from their experience within one or other agency.

This seems to be a circular process. Trainers learn on the job and then train other trainers within the ranks of their own and other organisations. This process may provide the grounds for innovative work. However, there is no uniformity among the trainers, and this could prove to be a stumbling block in the future. To overcome some of these problems a national system could be established to regularise the training of adult educators, and establish a career path for them through a process of certification.

Given the current situation, the question may well be posed why a study, such as this one, should have singled out the needs of women. It is precisely because the history of women's development has demonstrated the unfailing tendency to obliterate women's particular needs and interests, and subsume them under the rubric of generalised needs for all, that this study has been done. Much of the development work in the world has failed to improve significantly the lives of women, and it is the need to recognise this that has led to the focus on women in this study. It is clear from the empirical material that, with the practical problems and the structural elements which militate against women's equitable treatment, there is a definite and important role that COs can play in providing skills' training for women in each of the demarcated areas.

NOTES

1. The National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) was concerned with educational provision overall. The NEPI investigation into educational provision in South Africa involved more than 300 participants, largely volunteers, who collected concrete data, held workshops, and considered policy recommendations. Their findings were covered in the publication of twelve reports.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF ORGANISATIONS SURVEYED

Black Sash

BSDC – Business Skills and Development Centre

CECS – Community Education Computer Society

CRLS – Centre for Rural Legal Studies

CWD – Catholic Welfare & Development,
Community Business Skills (CBS)

CWD – Catholic Welfare & Development, Delta
Training Project

DAG – Development Action Group

DWA – Domestic Workers Association

ERIP – Education, Resource and Information Project

Interchange Foundation

Karoo Law Clinic

Karoo Resource Centre

LEAP – Legal Education Action Project

MAG – Montagu en Ashton Gemeenskapdiens

MTF – Media Trainers Forum

NAMREC – Namaqualand Resource and Education
Centre

Namaquanuus

NICRO – SA National Institute for Crime
Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders

NLP – National Language Project

NLP – National Language Project LP

ORAC – Oudtshoorn Resource Advisory Centre

Phambili Squatter and Rural Women's
Development Centre (now
Phambili Women's Organisation)

Rape Crisis

SAHSSO – SA Health and Social Services
Organisation

Triple Trust Organisation

USWE – Use Speak Write English

Western Province Training Association

World Vision

APPENDIX B

ORGANISATIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE **(Semi-structured interview on tape)** **Sou u verkies om Afrikaans te praat?**

For office use only

Date:

Interview number:

Name of organisation:

Name of interviewee:

Office description:

Address:

SECTION 1

DESCRIPTION OF THE ORGANISATION

WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE ORGANISATION THAT YOU WORK FOR

1. How long has the organisation been in existence?

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2. What are the main aims of the organisation?

.....

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.....

.....

3. What are the main activities of the organisation?

4. How many people work for the organisation?

5. What is the structure of the organisation?

6. *How is policy decided?*

(Funders influence, executive boards etc.)

7. How is the organisation funded?

(Private money or government money? Local or overseas?)

8. How often are the organisational goals evaluated?

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9. Does the organisation have different sections? Yes/No

.....

10. What are they?

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11. What section do you work for?

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12. How long have you worked for this section?

.....

13. What are the aims of the section?

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14. What is your current position or status?

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15. Is it a paid position? Yes/No

.....

16. What skills did you need to get this job?

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SECTION 2
ADULT EDUCATION

**WE WOULD NOW LIKE TO FOCUS ON THE TRAINING
PROVIDED BY THE ORGANISATION**

17. What kind of training is offered?
(workshops; courses; formal; informal; form content)

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18. Do you have any copies of course outlines etc. that we could have? Yes/No

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19. Has your training changed in the last year? Yes/No
If 'Yes' please detail

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20. Do you consult with your clients on the training you offer?
Please explain with whom and how.

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21. What language/s is/are used for your training?

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22. Why do you hold your training in this/these language/s?

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23. Do you run special training for women? Yes/No
Please explain why.

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LET US LOOK AT SOME OF THE PRACTICALITIES INVOLVED IN TRAINING

24. Where do you hold your training? (Place and venue)

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25. Why do you hold it there?

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26. On what days and at what times are training sessions held?

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27. How did you decide on these times?

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28. What is the furthest people have to travel if they come to your training?

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29. Do you have any of the following facilities available at the venue?

Child care:

Transport access:

Safe conduct:

Sanitary:

30. Do you charge a fee for your training?

Yes/No/voluntary contribution/sliding scale

31. If you charge, are there bursaries available for people to do the training? Yes/No

If 'Yes' please explain how these are awarded.

WE'D LIKE TO FIND OUT WHO CONDUCTS THE TRAINING

32. Who gives the training?

Gender etc.

33. Is your training provided by: paid workers/volunteers/both?

34. What qualifications and skills do they have?

35. How or where did they acquire these skills?

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36. Do you provide any training for your own trainers? Yes/No
If 'Yes' please detail. Internal/external?

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37. Do you ever work together with other organisations on the provision of training? Yes/No
If 'Yes' please explain.

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WE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR MORE ABOUT THE PEOPLE
WHO COME TO DO YOUR TRAINING

38. How many people have been trained since the beginning of 1991?

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39. Who makes use of the training?
(age, sex, language, area of residence, race)

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40. How do people get to know about your training?

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41. What are the criteria for people to attend your training?

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42. How do you think they use the training after they have completed it?

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43. Why do you think so?

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44. Do you think women and men use the training differently? Yes/No
If 'Yes' please explain how.

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45. How do you give recognition to people that have completed your training courses?

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46. Do you have any follow-up to assess the success of your training? Yes/No/Some
If 'Yes' please explain.

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47. Do you offer any kind of follow-up and support after the training has finished? Yes/No
If 'Yes' please detail.

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SECTION 3

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

WE WOULD NOW LIKE TO TURN TO PROBLEMS THAT YOUR ORGANISATION
EXPERIENCES IN PROVIDING TRAINING

48. Please tell us the common problems that you have experienced in providing training.
(Meeting needs, funding etc.)

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49. Are there ones of particular concern to you? Which ones? How would you explain them?

MOVING ON TO SOLUTIONS

50. How has your organisation tried to solve problems related to training?

51. Have these attempts generally been unsuccessful or successful?
(Unsuccessful/successful/unsure)

SECTION 4
FUTURE GUIDELINES

**FINALLY, WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO CONSIDER FUTURE POSSIBILITIES
FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN THE WESTERN CAPE**

52. How does the organisation view the future direction of adult education in the Western Cape?

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53. How do you personally view the future direction of adult education in the Western Cape?

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54. And training of women?

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